Daily Report

East Europe

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Albania: PS's Pellumbi Comments on Electoral Policies

AU2403164596 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1900 GMT 23 Mar 96

[Report by Leka Ndoja]

[FBIS Translated Text] The second congress of the Socialist Party [PS], the political event of the day, was opened at 1600 [1500 GMT] today by Ilir Meta, deputy chairman of the party, who presented the main delegates and the distinguished personalities invited, such as Mrs. Dona Magdalena Hoch, vice president of the parliamentary group of the European Socialist Party; Jan Francois Valer, secretary general of the European Socialist Party; Karolos Papoulias, member of the Politburo of PASOK [Panhellenic Socialist Movement] and Greek former foreign minister; as well as other foreign personalities.

The main report by PS Deputy Chairman Servet Pellumbi focused, as it was announced before the congress, on the electoral campaign and the ways it will be held on the basis of a platform for future elections, in which Pellumbi aims at the victory of his own party or two-thirds of the number of future parliamentarians.

The PS deputy chairman outlined the tactics that will be applied during the campaign coordinated with criticisms against the Democratic party [PD] and President Berisha. The PS has not remained by the side of the movement during the country's transition, but has rendered its assistance, Pellumbi said. He also made an optimistic analysis of the road of the party from its foundation up to now, singling out the role of the youth, FRESh [Youth Forum of Albanian Eurosocialists], and other categories of society, the trade unions, and associations.

Pellumbi greeted the work of the socialist local power, the PS parliamentary group, and considered as destructive the role of the president and the Meksi government in bringing about conflicting situations, such as the imprisonment of Fatos Nano [imprisoned PS chairman]. Pellumbi underlined the latter to be a political revenge.

Pellumbi listed the number of remarks for the country's economic and political collapse, corruption, embezzlement of foreign aid, lack of constitution, nonadmission of Albania in Europe, Antigenocide Law, the purity of political personalities, political apartheid, the presidential policy, the campaigns of diversion and subversion in the PS, the red front, President Berisha's campaign against Enverists in the PS, the totalitarian mentality, etc.

There is no coming out of the crisis without avoiding removing the PD from power, Pellumbi stressed. With an electoral platform, we do not promise everything and for all, but we aim at building the market economy and a social state. We favor a parliamentarian republic, as well as giving new dimensions to the president and having a strong executive power, Pellumbi noted. He also offered the alternative of securing public order and calm.

Pellumbi also expressed himself in favor of a coalition on program bases with other parties, mentioning here the Democratic Alliance Party, the Social Democratic Party, etc.

Outlining PS goals, Pellumbi promised to restructure the state, increase the country's production from 8 up to 12 percent per year, restructure the traditional branches, such as agro-industry, mineral and energy sources, as well as ensure a regulating role of the state, association into the EU and Euro-Atlantic alliance, membership in NATO, rural and urban programs amounting to 160 billion leks, including the upgrade of the water and irrigation system. Regarding the village, he mentioned the stimulation of credits, marketing, etc.

Pellumbi also drafted a mass program on health care and a special program on achieving high results in culture, literature, arts, and sports.

Regarding international policy, Pellumbi reiterated the peaceful role, multilateral cooperation, good neighborliness, the national question, initiation of dialogue between Kosova and Serbia in the presence of a third party, increase of investments from Canada, Japan, China, Arab countries, etc., as well as cooperation with the European Left.

At the end, Pellumbi also stressed optimism in the victory, despite the strategy of terror, according to him.

Deputy Pandeli Majko read a greeting telegram by PS Chairman Fatos Nano. The congress was also greeted by Dona Magdalena Hoch, deputy president of the parliamentary group of the European Socialist Party; Jean Francois Valer, secretary general of the European Socialist Party; and Karolos Papoulias, member of the PASOK Politburo.

Skender Gjinushi, chairman of the Social Democratic Party, and Neritan Ceka, president of the Democratic Alliance, then greeted the congress.

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Albania: PS's Nano Greets Socialist Party Congress

AU2403212796 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 24 Mar 96 pp 3-4

[Greeting sent by Socialist Party Chairman Fatos Nano from Bence Prison in Tepelene to the Socialist Party Second Congress in Tirana on 23 March: We Will Win]

[FBIS Translated Text] Brothers and sisters, dear comrades and friends, I have the honor of greeting our Second Congress and wishing you success in your work for the good of Albania and of Albanians wherever they are!

This gathering marks a culminating point in our lives and our new history. In five years, the Albanian Socialist Party [PS] has been born and has grown and established itself as an irreplaceable protagonist and partner in the democratic processes in our country. It has kept pace with the Albanians efforts to Europeanize themselves and the society in which they live. In this process, the PS has transformed itself fast: —from an embryo of honest intellectuals and former reformist communists into a Eurosocialist political force, the best organized in Albania, winning the most votes. —from an opposition force in power in 1991 to the main force of the democratic opposition in 1996, which, thanks to its constructive, realistic, and moderate commitments and its skills in achieving reform and reconciliation, has won the widespread confidence of the Albanians to govern in the transition period. —from a social and party group of patriotic intellectuals, workers, and peasants, unprivileged under the dictatorship of the past and hard hit by the political apartheid the current regime has been exercising for four years, into a massive political force and a movement in defense of the basic rights and freedoms of Albanians now and in the future. —from a party of protest into a party of an alternative that is able to balance and accelerate democratic reforms on the basis of understanding and national conciliation. —from an internal factor of balance and development into a party that has made its mark in the international arena, a key factor for regional stability and Albanias Euro-Atlantic integration.

You have all made your contributions and your sacrifices to affirm and consolidate the PS. However, allow me on this occasion to especially congratulate the Presidium, the General Management Committee, the parties' parliamentary group, the leaders of the Eurosocialist Youth Forum, and the Socialist Womens Forum for the wisdom, courage, and militant professionalism with which they have defended the democratic and national values of our political program!

Like yourselves and the overwhelming majority of Albanians today, I am convinced that together we will display all the required capacities and skills to further affirm our Eurosocialist values and ideals, and to undertake the historical responsibility of leading the country, a responsibility that the times and the electorate are ready to entrust to us!

This is why this assembly of Albanian Socialists is at the center of public attention at home and abroad. City-dwellers and peasants, businessmen and civil servants, new proprietors and those without property or jobs, pensioners and young people who are looking out for their opportunity in life, whether at home or abroad, are expecting a message of hope from this conference, a message of social peace and national understanding, of justice and human solidarity, of security for the future and a revival of life in all fields!

I am convinced that we, all together, shoulder to shoulder with the forward-looking opposition, will be able to provide people with these messages of security and hope, maturely confronting the challenges of the imminent electoral victory and of our forthcoming government of the country!

Our prime political priority is to overcome the abnormal situation that the perverse government of the country by Berishas regime has created, and to fully affirm the values of Western civilization: the market economy, the rule of law, and an open society in an Albania fully integrated in Europe. These values are in the program of the PS and the moderate opposition (of course, without S. Godo), but have been badly distorted and vitiated in these four years of Berishas unprincipled regime!

Of course, I will not deal with Berisha at this congress or in the days to come. He and the worthless and corrupt people that surround him, bent under the burden of the sins, misdeeds, and depravities of the democracy sui generis that they sought to establish in Albania, now represent a phenomenon that time has rendered obsolete, and which will no longer win the votes of two-thirds of the Albanians. These people with their revanchism and the total inability to reflect that they have regularly displayed during the last four to five years missed the historic opportunity that was given to the Albanians to build a modern and democratic Albania, and also seriously compromised the credibility of the countrys political right!

Berisha knows well that, when the sovereign speaks, others must keep silent! Now Berisha must keep silent and listen, all the more because the sovereign, especially since 6 November 1994, has not only been speaking, but has no longer been mentioning Berisha's name! The sovereign people are now speaking and calling for other names and parties!

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It is not our task to make the Democratic Party capable of speaking with another voice, different from that of Berisha and his clan, which the sovereign no longer cares for. It is to our credit that we, as a principled and brave opposition that made serious sacrifices, have succeeded in creating a democratic alternative of modern social reform, entirely acceptable to the overwhelming majority of the Albanian electorate.

So, we will waste no time on Berisha; together with the rest of the opposition of the center and the left, we must and will speedily dismantle the unprincipled system that Berishas regime has created, in order to free the Albanians once and for all from the nightmarish and fratricidal mechanisms of the past!

We must and will dismantle the legal and institutional mechanisms of the system of political apartheid and revenge, of hypercentralism and presidential patronage, returning to the spirit of pluralism and the institutions of the rule of law in Albania.

We must and will dismantle the mechanisms that have generated and shielded corruption, nepotism, and state blackmail against the individual. We will reestablish Albanians as free citizens, protected and served by their state.

We must and will liberate the market from the mechanisms of political monopolies and power-wielding clans, that have created nothing but wealth from the plunder of public assets, traffic in favors, and dirty money. We will establish on an institutional basis the social market economy, opening the way for the development of free initiative, Albanian enterprise, and dignified partnerships between Albanian and foreign capital.

We must and will free the sacred institutions of the rule of law—the courts, the parliament, central and local government, the press and electronic media, the banks and the state budget, private and public property, the police and the internal security service, etc., from the political dictate of ruling parties or clans, in order to provide the individual with guarantees against violations of his integrity; the security of his life, property, and profession; his basic freedom of movement and information; and his freedom of expression and activity in politics and business: in short, genuine and inviolable guarantees of the equality of citizens before the law!

We must and will give the future government everything that it lacks today: a broad social-political basis for its power, with openness both for the majority and the opposition, and a inviolably technocratic, skilled, independent, and transparent public administration at all levels. We will stand up for professionalism instead of militancy, honest experts instead of biddable careerists, and a civil service instead of corrupt and secretive clans. Above all, we will stand up for the civil community in the place of political exclusiveness.

We must and will finally provide the state of the future with many allies, consolidating our present alliances and creating new ones on a Euro-Atlantic plane, unblocking our relationships of good-neighborliness and developing close relations with the United States, reviving Balkan cooperation and crowning Albanias process of integration with membership of the EU and NATO.

We will correct the geopolitical imbalances of Albanias ties with the world and will replace the present governments tenuous connections with worthy partnerships that will grow from the parliamentary ratification of bilateral and multilateral agreements. On this basis, the compilation and implementation of a Pan-Albanian platform for the solution of our national question will become closer and surer.

Sisters and brothers, allow me to use the platform of our assembly to thank you again from my heart for the human and political solidarity that you and hundreds of thousands of people in Albania and abroad have shown to me, heartening me during the long and grim days of my political imprisonment. I use the opportunity to once again ask for an expression of solidarity from the PS Congress in support of all the intellectuals, journalists, and political activists of the opposition who have been imprisoned and systematically persecuted by the Berisha regime.

This means that our stand in defense of the freedoms of the individual is one of principle, both in defending the victims of the political persecution of the dictatorship of Enver Hoxha, and in defense of the victims of the political persecution of the Berisha regime.

Dear comrades, we are on the threshold of elections and the regime is obliged to guarantee their freedom and fairness. Therefore, on behalf of the host of more than 100,000 Albanian Socialists, I solemnly call on you to mobilize and demonstrate all your human and political energies in order to crown the decisive electoral battle that lies before us with victory in the shape of the necessary two-thirds majority for the moderate opposition, in order to give Albania and the Albanians a genuine, modern democracy, instead of the rigged democracy of the current regime.

In conclusion, I have the honor and pleasure to thank and greet, through the foreign guests present at our congress, the many friends, representatives of international institutions, friendly countries, and sister parties in the Party of the Socialists of Europe and the Socialist In-

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ternational, for the principled support and solidarity that they have given to our just struggle and cause!

We will win!

Until we meet in the good days that are coming!

Albania: PS Declares Readiness To Form Alliances

AU2503165096 Tirana GAZETA SHQIPTARE in Albanian 19 Mar 96 p 3

[Article by Elio Elini: "Socialists: Green Light for Alliances"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Tirana—The Socialist Party [PS] has given the green light to alliances. At a meeting of the PS General Management Committee, which lasted several hours yesterday, the Socialists cast their political eye in the direction of possible but still unspecified alliances. Even though the members of the General Management Committee gave a powerful "yes" yesterday to alliances with political "strangers," they were still extremely careful not to leave themselves unprotected. "The PS will respond to the requests of other parties in accordance with circumstances as they arise," the Socialists concluded at their most important party meeting.

As part of their preparations for their second congress, the Socialists gave their approval to the report that Deputy Chairman Servet Pellumbi is to deliver to this congress, to the electoral program, and to three resolutions, one of which was devoted to their imprisoned leader Nano. On this point, the Socialists were once again severe in their criticisms and did not omit to express in somber tones their nostalgia for their party leader.

The Nano resolution, which gave a full account of the work of their imprisoned leader, was one of the main points of debate for the Socialists. The politicians of the opposition's "superpower" left the approval of this resolution for the end of their discussions, and they described Nano from the political angle and as a citizen, often challenging the judiciary when they came to discuss Nano and the independence of the courts.

Above all, they call for the release of Nano at all costs. This would put the Socialists on the electoral starting line with a chairman and a consolidated political leadership. The second resolution approved by the Socialists bore a resemblance to the previous one, and was entitled "On Human Rights." Considering this resolution in light of the imprisonment of their leader, the Socialists in this resolution strongly attacked the present government for what they consider and argue are continual violations of human rights.

A third resolution, which the Socialists prefer to call the "congress resolution," is planned to collate everything that the members of the General Management Committee have laid down in individual resolutions and the decisions that the party will take after the completion of the first phase of the Second Congress.

The PS also approved yesterday the 352 candidates that will contest the 1996 elections under its banner. The list of candidates was approved as a whole, but they have still not been assigned to constituencies, and the Committee for the Screening of Personalities remains a riddle.

This nevertheless has not impeded the PS in choosing its people for the campaign and at the same time confirming that at this congress, it will hold fast to its political positions on a range of issues such as the social market economy, a foreign policy with a European and Atlantic orientation, efforts to join NATO, and closer relations with Greece and Italy. In only a few days, the PS will have the chance to open the doors of the congress, swept up by, among other things, a desire to forge alliances.

Albania: FRY's 'Surpising' Lifting of Visas 'Welcome'

AU2503145896 Tirana KOHA JONE in Albanian 16 Mar 96 p 10

[Unattributed report: "Belgrade Decides To Remove Visas for Albania"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Serbian media reported yesterday evening that the federal government of self-styled Yugoslavia has decided to remove the need for exit visas for travel to Albania. The decision, reported by the BETA news agency and confirmed by the federal Ministry of Information of the self-styled Yugoslavia, lays down that in the future citizens wishing to travel to Albania will not need to equip themselves with exit visas, which have hitherto been a legal obligation. Referring to the stand taken by the Belgrade authorities, the BETA news agency pointed out that the decision to lift the visa requirement is a step toward improved relations, peace, and cooperation in the Balkans. According to official statements broadcast by Voice of America, the Belgrade government has shown an interest in removing visa requirements with all those states for whom such a restriction still exists.

In a statement for Voice of America, Pajazit Nushi, deputy chairman of the Prishtina-based Council for the Defense of Human Rights and Freedoms, called this decision a surprising and welcome one, approved under special circumstances and at a time of tense relations in Kosova. Pajazit Nushi said that Belgrade had taken an

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important step toward normalizing relations with Tirana, recalling that Tirana had been the first to propose the lifting of visas.

ATA's correspondent in Prishtina reports that this welcome news is being felt in Kosova as the beginning of the collapse of the wall between the Albanians, and will also meet with a response among the Albanians in Montenegro and southern Serbia. Thousands of Albanians from Kosova and other ethnic territories have been imprisoned, beaten, and maltreated by the police because they visited Albania. More than 10,000 passports have been seized from Albanians because they included stamps from the Albanian border. There will be special concessions for divided families, who for years on end have been forbidden to communicate with or meet their relatives on the other side of the border, which is so strictly controlled by Serbian forces.

Albania: Rugova Welcomes Discontinuance of Exit Visas

AU2503164996 Tirana RILINDJA in Albanian 16 Mar 96 p 1

[Report on news conference by Dr. Ibrahim Rugova, "president of the Republic of Kosova," by Behar Zogjani in Pristina on 15 March: "Establishing an International Protectorate Is an Urgent Matter for Kosova's Security"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Dr. Ibrahim Rugova held his regular news conference yesterday and outlined the standpoints of the state leadership of the Republic of Kosova. He said that during the last week, Kosova had been at the center of attention of European and U.S. analysts and government circles, which are worried about the serious situation and hope that the Kosova issue will be solved by peaceful and political means and according to the political will of the people of Kosova. Dr. Rugova then welcomed the stand on Kosova taken by U.S. Congressman Elliot Engel, who has said that Kosova should have the right to self-determination and should be recognized internationally as soon as possible.

Repression Extreme in Every Way

The president of the Republic of Kosova welcomed the report of the French association "Man," which states that the territory and people of Kosova must be placed under an international protectorate. Swiss Foreign Minister Flavio Cotti, who is also chairman of the OSCE [Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe], expressed a similar stand when he spoke in Albania about the role of the United States in solving the Kosova issue. Dr. Rugova congratulated the Democratic Party of Albania on its admission to the European Democratic Union and expressed the hope that the Kosova Democratic League [LDK] will also join. President Rugova also welcomed the initiative of the LDK in Norway to twin Norwegian schools with schools in Kosova. Mr. Rugova described at this news conference the very serious security situation for the citizenry as a result of the systematic repression of the Serbian regime in Kosova. [passage omitted]

Ending his remarks, Dr. Rugova said that there can be no distribution of the assets of the former Yugoslavia without Kosova. We are saying this to the republics of the former Yugoslavia and ask for understanding over this. We also inform various firms that are interested in making economic contracts with firms in Kosova that these contracts will have no validity unless they are made with the understanding of the institutions of the Republic of Kosova, especially contracts relating to large-scale industries that exploit natural resources. We also remind firms that formerly invested in Kosova that there will continue to be a place for them.

Journalists had many questions for the president relating to the removal of exit visas for Albania, the manner of solving the Kosova issue, protests of Albanians in Kosova, the consultations in the British Embassy in Belgrade, etc. In his replies, Dr. Rugova said that visas for Albania should never have been imposed because they contravened the laws in force at the time in the former Yugoslavia and also international law.

The president of the Republic of Kosova said that the most urgent steps toward solving the issue of Kosova were the establishment of a civilian international administration, the transfer of the administration, and matters such as health, a return to work, etc. Asked about the possible organization of protests by the Albanians in Kosova, Dr. Rugova said that we must be very careful because of the existing situation, while Dr. Fehmi Agani said that this is an open issue that the LDK is considering.

Building the Prishtina-Prizren-Lezhe Highway

Mr. Rugova said that the purpose of the meeting at the British Embassy in Belgrade was to exchange opinions and to look at different viewpoints held by the different sides in Kosova and Serbia. This was, of course, positive, he said. LDK Deputy Chairman Dr. Fehmi Agani, who also took part in the meeting, said that it had been successful and that there had been many words of praise for Kosova. The Socialist Party of Serbia, the ruling party in Serbia, was not present, probably because it had nothing to say.

As for the proposal to hold an international roundtable on Kosova, the president of the Republic of Kosova said that such demands have been always present, but

the problem was that well-known personalities such as diplomats and journalists were not allowed to attend. But this is a good idea that must be brought to fruit by different bodies such as the Kosova Academy of Sciences and Arts, the PEN Center in Kosova, etc. Dr. Rugova again repeated the official state attitude, shared by the Independent Trade Unions of Kosova, about the mass return of the Albanians dismissed from their jobs, saying that was is happening is a ploy by Serbia to manipulate citizens before a possible dialogue. Commenting once again on the removal of exit visas, the president of the Republic of Kosova said that this will enable free movement and prepare the way to fulfill the Kosovars' request for the construction of a Prishtina-Prizren-Lezhe highway. Dr. Rugova said that no doubt later there will be no need even for passports, within the framework of Albanian, Balkan, and European integration. However, national unification also has other problems, and work must continue. Our consistent demand has been that the Berlin Wall between the Albanians must fall, Dr. Rugova concluded.

Bulgaria: Zhelev Comments on European Ties, Russia

BR2603091696 Brussels LE SOIR in French 25 Mar 96 p 2

[Interview with Bulgarian President Zhelyu Zhelev by Edouard Van Velthem; place and date not given: "Bulgaria's Internal Situation and Relations With Europe, Russia, the Balkans"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Van Velthem] Today you begin a three-day official visit to Belgium at a time when Bulgaria is experiencing a climate of political crisis which does not make it easy to retain a stable government: you have been a partner in a stormy cohabitation with Mr. Videnov's socialist government for more than a year now. What are your criticisms of him?

[Zhelev] I addressed my principal criticisms of the government at a press conference on the first anniversary of its mandate. The crux of the matter is the following: the government is holding back on reforms aimed at achieving a lasting development of the principles and mechanisms of a market economy, and is blocking all action in the field of structural reform. In recent years, I have personally stated my desire to cooperate and to work with any government team, including one drawn from the Bulgarian Socialist Party, which would carry forward the reforms which are essential for the country. Unfortunately, the present government is contributing nothing of substance. In some areas, we are even witnessing such lengthy delays that they amount to a retreat. Take agricultural reform for example: on the one hand the process is practically frozen and, on the other, the authorities are in the process of setting up pseudocooperatives which are very much inspired by "neokolkhozian" models.

As to the "climate of crisis," I must admit that Bulgarian society has been experiencing a serious political and economic crisis for a number of years now. In this respect, the contradictions at the apex, between the different national institutions, are now apparent in everyday practice. But it is also the case that the bases for cohabitation with the present government are particularly difficult. Its very first steps were marked by excessively hostile attitudes which showed little inclination toward dialogue. I have worked with six governments; not one had the objective of pure and simple opposition to the president of the Republic.

[Van Velthem] What would be your principal assessment of the liberal economic reforms of the past six years: satisfaction at seeing a new dynamic for the young Bulgarian democracy or disappointment at the high social cost for the population?

[Zhelev] Rather sadness at the excessive social cost for the most underprivileged portions of the population. We have not been able to create the dynamic for our young democracy as the pace of reform is sluggish, the return to private ownership is slow, and society is stagnating; but these are fundamental factors in making the individual economically free and independent and able to free himself from the domination of a party *nomenklatura* based on constraints and violence. These are all essential factors for the creation of an open civil society.

My Major Concern? Crime

[Van Velthem] Bulgaria's reputation has been tarnished over recent months: attacks against diplomats, rackets involving businessmen, and the concentration of mafia groups in Sofia. Recent polls indicate that crime has become the priority concern of Bulgarians. Is this being exaggerated, or is it a major concern?

[Zhelev] Crime is most certainly my main concern, a source of serious problems burdening society. There is not one family and not one home which has not been affected in one way or another. I believe that crime is a heavy burden for all the new democracies in Central and Eastern Europe. It was largely crime which caused the Bulgarians to vote for the former communists who were generous with their election promises: law and order, they said, must stand up positively and categorically to the most deplorable manifestations of crime. But today the government seems to have completely forgotten its intentions: it shows neither the will nor the ability to take effective measures to combat crime and the effects of crime.

[Van Velthem] Bulgarian offers of cooperation have to date resulted in a Partnership for Peace [agreement] with NATO and association agreements with the European Union. Did you expect your European partners to deliver more and more quickly?

[Zhelev] It is largely up to us to achieve rapid progress in cooperation with our Western partners, and to make it fuller and more solid. Other countries which chose the road to reform at the same time as we did have made much more progress than us. We must, first of all, send out clear messages regarding our desire to share Western democratic values and we must provide proof. Secondly, we must actually implement our political desire to adhere to European structures. In this way, we will be helping our Western partners with their choices and their priorities.

[Van Velthem] The Socialist government wants to achieve a new balance in relations between Bulgaria and Russia, and is the most reticent of all the Central European countries when it comes to NATO membership. Do you fear increased Russian influence in Bulgaria, formerly described as "the 16th" Soviet republic?

[Zhelev] Relations between Bulgaria and Russia have always occupied a particularly important position in the framework of our modern history. Our two peoples have long been bound by cultural ties. Russia freed us from Turkish domination at the end of the last century, it is true. But can we forget that the USSR subjected us to 45 years of Communism which reduced us to vassalage? The Videnov government's search for a "new balance" in relations with Russia is nostalgia for the past. Those who exercise power today are still very marked by the weight of their communist past, while at the same time they find themselves in a serious situation of international isolation. The few opportunities for action on the international stage are the contacts with the leaders in Moscow and Belgrade. Unfortunately, this unhappy legacy is being reflected in the government's actions. As to renewed influence in Bulgaria modelled on the "16th Republic," I do not see it. The wheel of history is not about to change direction. We will certainly be able to develop relations with Russia based on fair partnership of the Western variety, and on mutual interests and respect for the sovereignty and independence of our countries. Our international priorities, set out in 1990 and never in dispute, affirm Bulgaria's desire to reintegrate into Europe and to adhere to European and euro-atlantic structures.

[Van Velthem] Every time socialists are returned to power in Central Europe, the West asks itself the same question: is restoration, even in an adapted form, of the communist system possible?

[Zhelev] Communism as a system belongs to the past, and no amount of nostalgia can bring it back to life. But the ideological conversion of former communist parties has taken a different form in the different Central and Eastern European countries. There are some which have become true social democrats, sharing the values of Europe and European integration in practice as well as words. Others still trapped in postcommunist thinking do not really have the choice: either to opt clearly for Europe or otherwise to turn to the past by espousing a kind of communism.

[Van Velthem] You were congratulated at the White House for your moderating action in the Yugoslav crisis. But little has been heard from you since the signing of the peace agreements. Do you find them satisfactory and do you believe they can bring real and lasting peace to the region?

[Zhelev] I should like to think so. Wars always end with negotiations and peace. I believe, however, that if, right from the start of the breakup of the former Yugoslavia, the international community had had the necessary instruments to prevent conflict, it would have been able to manage the crisis and avoid the bloodshed. The major countries and important international structures have now set for themselves the basic objective of peacekeeping. But we must remember that nothing can ever be taken for granted and a regression is always possible.

[Van Velthem] As an immediate neighbor, Bulgaria suffered particularly from the UN embargo on Belgrade. What figure would you put on your financial losses?

[Zhelev] The calculations vary; some exper[illegible]d the missed opportunities to the real losses. The to[illegible] loss is estimated at some $7 billion. We hope to obtain indirect compensation as direct means are not likely. I find it hard to imagine we will receive direct compensation. On the other hand, financial institutions and major Western companies could undertake major infrastructure projects in the Balkans. Why not, for example, get moving on construction projects in the field of communications or energy, transport, and telecommunications, and in particular the famous corridor from the West linking the Black Sea and the Adriatic? Such projects are direct investments in the peaceful future of the Balkans. And it is our only chance for the future: initiating relations on the Community model of the European Union. Otherwise, rather than a Europeanization of our relations we are likely to see a Balkanization of Europe.

As to the losses incurred by Bulgaria due to the embargo on Yugoslavia, I should like to add one detail: our country is at present on the list of high risk nations without having caused or participated in a war. Once a country is included on this "blacklist," it ceases to be attractive to foreign investors which rightly require solid guarantees.

We Democrats Had Other Expectations

[Van Velthem] There was recently a meeting on the shores of the Black Sea between Bulgaria, Greece, and Romania. Do you believe renewed cooperation between the Balkan countries, often spoken of but never acted upon, to be possible and desirable?

[Zhelev] There are certainly positive aspects in such a cooperation policy between neighboring countries. But does that mean it should be straitjacketed within institutional frameworks? Bulgaria does not see any purpose

in bureaucratizing and excessively formalizing relations between our countries. Furthermore, Balkan cooperation, like cooperation between the Black Sea countries, is not in any way contrary to the processes of European integration. We see it as a form of regional cooperation which would encourage the complete integration of the Balkans into Europe. The Balkans are an inherent part of the European political, economic and cultural area.

[Van Velthem] A more personal question to conclude: as a philosopher, how do you look back on your six years as Bulgarian head of state? And will you be a candidate for reelection?

[Zhelev] The past six years of my mandate as president of the Republic has seen major changes in the country which have radically altered it. With all due modesty, I believe I have made a contribution to this. Unfortunately, we have not succeeded in acting upon all our good intentions. After commencing reforms in a dynamic, effective, and enthusiastic manner, Bulgaria has fallen far behind the Central European countries. The resources of our young democracy are no doubt weak and fragile, its capacity for action limited. But we democrats had other expectations at the beginning. The country is at present facing dangers, threats, and pitfalls.

The next presidential elections? I feel a sense of responsibility and I will be standing again...

Bulgaria: Videnov on Meeting With Russian Duma Chairman

AU2503175596 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1700 GMT 25 Mar 96

[FBIS Translated Text] On 25 March, Genadiy Seleznev, chairman of the Russian State Duma, met Foreign Minister Georgi Pirinski. Issues related to European security were discussed.

In a statement to correspondents, Mr. Genadiy Seleznev commented on Russia's position against NATO's expansion and the Duma resolution that canceled the declaration on dissolving the USSR. Those subjects were discussed in the talks of the Russian delegation in Bulgaria.

Genadiy Seleznev also met Prime Minister Zhan Videnov. Our prime minister was asked whether he is satisfied with his recent visit to Moscow and how he would describe the priorities of the agreements signed with Russian Prime Minister Chernomyrdin. The progress of the agrarian reforms in Bulgaria and Russia was also discussed.

We discussed the problems of bilateral cooperation and the plans to construct the Burgas-Alexandroupolis oil pipeline, Mr. Seleznev said. We talked about what has been achieved so far and what is to be done.

This is what Prime Minister Videnov said about the meeting:

[Begin recording] We posed to our partners the issue of updating the bilateral relations. This is an issue that depends to a large extent on the will of the two parliaments and their assessment of the development of bilateral relations, not only in the last four to five years, but throughout the period since World War II. We are very satisfied with what we were told, namely, that the legal foundation of our relations is long lasting and that it will be rapidly asserted and updated by the two parliaments. This satisfies me fully, because it gives our relations a predictable and lasting character based on political guarantees. [end recording]

Bulgaria: Russian Duma Chairman, Sendov Discuss Relations

AU2503165496 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 25 Mar 96

[FBIS Translated Text] At a meeting with National Assembly Chairman Blagovest Sendov, Genadiy Seleznev, chairman of the Russian State Duma who is here on an official visit, stated that dissolving the USSR five years ago was a violation of the constitution. He expressed regret that the Duma does not have much influence over the country's governing and said that amendments to the constitution are being prepared, but their adoption will encounter much difficulty.

Blagovest Sendov briefed the visiting delegation on the National Assembly work and Bulgaria's state system. He also presented our country's position on NATO membership.

Bulgaria and Russia lost a lot from cooling bilateral relations after 1991, and I am very satisfied with the activity of your prime minister, Zhan Videnov. This was Genadiy Seleznev's opinion on Russian-Bulgarian relations.

Bulgaria: Assembly Bodies, Duma Chairman Discuss Security

AU2603105096 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 26 Mar 96

[FBIS Translated Text] At the National Assembly on 26 March, a meeting took place between the members of the National Assembly Commissions on Foreign Policy and on National Security and the Russian State Duma delegation led by Duma Chairman Genadiy Seleznev.

In Bulgaria, there is a consensus regarding integration in the European and euro-atlantic structures, Nikolay

Kamov, chairman of the Commission on Foreign Policy, stressed in his speech. A debate is under way, however, about the best way of resolving the open issues of our security—through participation in NATO or through neutrality. Bulgaria is discussing all possibilities, and for this reason, we will enter into an intensified dialogue with NATO.

Mr. Kamov also presented Bulgaria's Balkan policy and asked the Russian guests to comment on the Duma decree that canceled the declaration on the dissolution of the USSR.

In his reply, Mr. Seleznev again developed and explained the thesis that this was a purely moral act on the part of the Duma that had acquired election eve dimensions.

The Duma chairman expressed satisfaction with the recent warming in Bulgarian-Russian relations. He appealed to the National Assembly to review the issue of our country's full participation in the Black Sea Economic Cooperation Organization.

Asen Agov, [deputy chairman from the Union of Democratic Forces], presented the view of the opposition on developing relations with Russia on the basis of democratic values. Mr. Agov explained the demand of the parliamentary opposition forces that Bulgaria become a full member of NATO.

Earlier today, a closed meeting took place between the Russian delegation and the National Assembly Group on Bulgarian-Russian Friendship.

Bulgaria: Pavlov Discusses Document on NATO Expansion

AU2503180996 Sofia 24 CHASA in Bulgarian 19 Mar 96 p 4

[Article by Lilya Popova: "We Will Start Negotiations With NATO in April"]

[FBIS Translated Text] On 18 March, Defense Minister Dimitur Pavlov announced that the document on Bulgaria's positions regarding the intensified dialogue with NATO on its eastward expansion is ready.

The negotiations will be conducted from April until the end of 1996.

The document has been approved at a meeting of the State Committee on European Integration. A report by Foreign Minister Georgi Pirinski and Defense Minister Dimitur Pavlov has been discussed and adopted as a basis for the preparation of the Bulgarian position. The Defense Ministry Press Center added that the document on the dialogue with NATO will be improved and expanded by various departments.

"The basic element of the document is the fact that it stresses that all aspects related to joining NATO—economic, political, and military—must be clarified first," Defense Minister Pavlov said.

"It cannot simply be said that that we want to join NATO. Our position is that NATO's expansion must be viewed in the general context of constructing the all-European security structure. This security architecture cannot be constructed only and solely through expanding NATO. The integration of the EU, the Western European Union, and the OSCE [Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe] must be pursued together with the changes in NATO. Thus, expanding NATO is just one element of the new architecture. Naturally, this must be achieved without creating new confrontation lines and rivalry. Intensifying the dialogue with Russia is an essential part of this process," Defense Minister Pavlov said.

Bulgaria: Pirinski's Absence From Prague Meeting Explained

AU2203212296 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1700 GMT 22 Mar 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] On 22 March, a regular news conference took place at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. [passage omitted]

Foreign Ministry spokesman Panteley Karasimeonov pointed out that the U.S. side had been informed that Minister Pirinski would not attend the Prague meeting of the Central and East European states with U.S. Secretary of State Christopher. The reason—the meeting that had previously been agreed upon between Minister Pirinski and Peter Hartmann, state minister at the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs, who accompanied German President Roman Herzog during his visit to Bulgaria.

Mr. Karasimeonov stated that our Foreign Ministry will review very carefully the contents of Mr. Christopher's speech at the meeting, and will become a subject to bilateral consultations.

It was also reported that the position of the Bulgarian Government on issues of European security in the 21st century was outlined by Deputy Foreign Minister Irina Bokova during the first meeting of the OSCE [Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe] 21-22 March session in Prague.

Regarding the application of the Dayton peace agreements on Bosnia-Herzegovina, Mrs. Bokova reiterated the position that is asserted among the OSCE members, namely, constructing regional security through cooperation.

Bulgaria: Videnov's Position on NATO Criticized

AU2503180196 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian 19 Mar 96 p 3

[Commentary by Milena Boyadzhieva: "Zhan Should Remember the Bulgarian Language and Interests"]

[FBIS Translated Text] At a certain stage of Prime Minister Videnov's journey to Moscow we learned that we have an official position on NATO, or rather an official position on our (non) membership of NATO. President Yeltsin expressed the hope that our country will take Russia's position against NATO's eastward expansion into consideration. Instead of stating that our motherland is a sovereign state, our prime minister agreed, and did so in Russian. Forgetting your mother tongue is itself scandalous for a statesman, let alone fawning over Big Brother by speaking in his language. The explanation of the special envoy Borislav Dzhamdzhiev, deputy director general of the Bulgarian National Radio, that Videnov spoke Russian in order "to save time," is stupid. It was even more scandalous for a prime minister to turn his back on his own state's national security in order to support the interests of a foreign country. Videnov said in the Kremlin that Russia's demands do not contradict the Bulgarian position, which takes into consideration "the national interests of every state," (meaning Russia), in constructing the European security. It is well known that the prime minister bowed down to Moscow on the NATO issue in order to effect the deal on Topenergy. However, Rem Vyakhirev said in Russian, a language well known to Videnov, that he will not take his demands into consideration.

One must remind Prime Minister Videnov and National Assembly Chairman Sendov that, despite their statements in Moscow, the Bulgarian position on NATO is still being discussed. It will be announced by the end of the month—before then, the socialist government will announce its position on the NATO study regarding its eastward expansion. If the reply is ready, the ministers should tell not only Yeltsin, but also us, the Bulgarians. Apparently, the Socialists have secretly decided to say "no" to our national security. This suspicion is strengthened by the fact that our foreign minister is the only eastern European foreign minister who would not take part in the Prague meeting with U.S. Secretary of State Christopher. The U.S. secretary of state requested the meeting precisely because he wants to talk about NATO's expansion. However, Pirinski excused himself, saying that he was too busy, and sent Deputy Foreign Minister Irina Bokova. We hope President Zhelev will think carefully about what he will tell NATO General Secretary Solana in Brussels in seven days time.

Bulgaria: Commentary Views Importance of Varna Meeting

AU2603124196 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 18 Mar 96 p 7

[Commentary by Ventseslav Karaivanov: "'Ioannina-2' Gave Impetus to Balkan Cooperation"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The meeting of the foreign ministers of Bulgaria, Greece, and Romania in Varna, tentatively called "Ioannina-2," as a continuation of the consultations between the three countries that began last summer in the Greek town of Ioannina, is about to become a tradition. The meeting will be followed by a meeting of the ministers of transportation, economy, and construction in Salonika and another meeting of the foreign ministers in Romania. Furthermore, Slovakia, Hungary, and Austria have been invited to join the meetings.

The concern of certain Balkan states regarding the possibility of creating new political axes and configurations are groundless. In Varna, it again became clear that common economic interests, which are not to the detriment of any other country in the region, serve as a foundation of the meeting. Furthermore, it became clear that a new and open system is emerging, which other states could join, if this serves their interest.

From our country's practical point of view, the importance of the Varna meeting lies in the support that Greece promised us and Romania in facilitating our membership of the EU and in our participation in the postwar restoration of Bosnia-Herzegovina. One must also point out Greece's mediation in constructing the new bridges across the Danube and other infrastructure projects and their financing through the PHARE [Economic Reconstruction Aid for Poland and Hungary] and INTERREG [cross-border initiative] programs. Three member countries of the Central European Initiative—Slovakia, Austria, and Hungary—could be attracted to those ideas in exchange for including them in the Black Sea Cooperation.

Last but not least, one must remember the political aspect of "Ioannina-2," which was expressed in the support given to the Bulgarian initiative to restore the all-Balkan dialogue. However, in this foundation this idea depends on the region's economic cooperation, which is unthinkable without guaranteeing regional security. The Balkan region can participate in the comprehensive integration processes in the continent only if it itself integrates first. From this point of view, the Varna meeting can be very important not only for the three participating countries, but also for the region and even for the entire continent.

Bulgaria: Zhirinovskiy on Chechnya War, Foreign Policy

AU2503133996 Sofia STANDART NEWS in Bulgarian 20 Mar 96 p 15

[Interview with Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, leader of the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia, by Violeta Veselinova; place and date not given: "First Time I Hear That We Have Taken 35 Metric Tons of Gold From Bulgaria"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Veselinova] Mr. Zhirinovskiy, how many votes do you expect to receive at the presidential elections?

[Zhirinovskiy] Enough to be able to run in the second round.

[Veselinova] Does the army want you as president? Will you stop the war in Chechnya?

[Zhirinovskiy] I am very popular among the military. The war in Chechnya must be stopped. We must also close the borders and block the channels through which the dollar aid is arriving. Very soon all those bandits will die or surrender.

[Veselinova] What will you do with the Jews if you become president?

[Zhirinovskiy] I will treat them normally. I will provide jobs for all the unemployed and homes for all the homeless. [passage omitted]

[Veselinova] Will you return the 25 metric tons of gold that the Russians took from Bulgaria at the end of World War II?

[Zhirinovskiy] This is the first time I have heard this story. It sounds phony to me.

[Veselinova] Are Saddam Husayn and Castro your friends? Who else is a friend of yours?

[Zhirinovskiy] I can cite other names, for example Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi. However, let me talk about my general principles. If a head of state enjoys the confidence of his people, has the courage to stand up against the world policeman—the United States—and sincerely seeks close relations with Russia, from which he will benefit, then he is a friend of mine.

Bulgaria: Article Views 'Internal Opposition' in BSP

AU2503205296 Sofia STANDART NEWS in Bulgarian 18 Mar 96 p 7

[Article by Tatyana Braykova: "Real Opposition in BSP Leaves the Shadows, Operetta Figures Withdraw"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] controls about 80 percent of the economic leaders and cadres in the financial market and communications. The BSP is also alone on the political stage. Its absolute parliamentary majority guarantees its political supremacy.

The BSP began its change by the attempt to present itself as a broad coalition of ideological currents. Unlike its East European sister parties, it did not split. Both those who prepared the 10 November 1989 coup and those who were surprised by it remained in the BSP. Now, however, a clash of interests in the party could hinder the cruel one-party-rule concentrated in the hands of very few people.

The Videnov circle rules the BSP. This circle emerged in the last 10 years. The young prime minister is sharing his power with the Zhivkovites, who were directly related to the old regime. By effecting the tacit and not very public rehabilitation, Videnov released the spirit from the bottle. Until now, Aleksandur Lilov served as a bridge between the two circles. It appears that the Strategist is now losing his patience.

The opposition within the BSP has many faces. The most popular opposition circle is represented by Mincho Minchev's "Marxist Alternative," and Chavdar Kyuranov's Alliance for Social Democracy [OSD]. However, this is the official internal opposition. Its weight is measured by the rhetorical skill of its leaders.

The second type of internal opposition is represented by Valentin Vatsev. It has a rather operetta-clown character—it criticizes in order to entertain the people, but sometimes enjoys the privilege of being able to speak the truth.

Both groups belong to the category of eternal opposition. For them, it makes no difference who is in power within the party. Their opposition is a role and not a position.

Indeed, the real opposition in the BSP does not have an organized character. Until recently, we only suspected its existence. Those are the circles around Andrey Lukanov and Aleksandur Lilov, who governed the party at the beginning of the change. They are the only factor that could serve as a correcting instrument to Videnov's rule. They could be punished rapidly for their overt

opposition, despite the economic power of the first and the strategic skill of the second. Their public statements begin and end with praise for the party and its center. The criticism is somewhere between the beginning and the end, and usually it is much more powerful than the statements of the official opposition.

The actions of the two big ones resemble their activity before 10 November. Just as then, they are now acting under cover. Behind them, there are real interests that are struggling for the power in the party. The people in the party elite who were related to perestroyka were replaced by Krasimir Premyanov and Nikolay Dobrev and the former highranking Komsomol leadership. Behind them, there are the real economic interests affected by Videnov.

The attacks against the prime minister and party leader will continue, despite the fact that he and those close to him hastened to announce that the battle is over.

Where does the evil spirit reside, and who will follow it into the fire? Perhaps the solution will be as improbable as the reality.

Czech Republic: Daily Sees Christopher 'Signal' on NATO

AU2503165796 Prague DENNI TELEGRAF in Czech 22 Mar 96 p 3

[Commentary by Tomas Chalupa and Jan Patocka: "The Twelve's Summit: A Small Step on a Major Road"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Evidently, not much was to be expected from the visit to Prague by U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher. To think that the U.S. minister would bring to Prague a list of the alliance's future members with the dates of their entry was indeed just an assumption from the realms of fantasy. Even so, the summit involving the 12 Central and East European foreign ministers and their U.S. colleague did contribute a few new factors. One of these is the confirmation of the December summit, where the answer to the basic questions—who and when—will be given. This signal was very important, especially for the impatient Czech Republic, which is sometimes concerned that its slower and less-well-prepared neighbors could slow it down in its negotiation attempts—namely, as Warren Christopher has declared, that affiliation with Western institutions will, naturally, begin with the hottest candidates—"If it did not begin with them, it would not begin at all"—then our concerns do not make sense. Confirmation of these expectations is also, however, of major significance for the countries that do not belong to the so-called first column. That is, when the U.S. minister announces that "those who are first in line have to ensure that their membership leaves the door open for the others," the citizens of these states do not have to despair that the West and NATO do not care about them.

No less insignificant were the number of assurances that, if the alliance is enlarged, this will involve full membership "with all of the advantages but also with the costs and risks." Christopher has thus rejected the recent proposal by Russian Foreign Minister Primakov that the countries of this region accede to some sort of membership/nonmembership.

The assurances from the U.S. side about continuing U.S. involvement in Europe and its rejection of isolationist tendencies are also of major significance. Christopher's three exhortations, outlined during his address, illustrate this clearly. "The Cold War may have come to an end, but the United States's leading role in Europe is still crucial for transatlantic peace, security, and democracy," said Christopher. His Czech counterpart, Josef Zieleniec, used similar vocabulary to say the same thing.

Maybe today, when none of the countries in our region are aware of the acute risk of war, the involvement of U.S. troops seems unnecessary. But the reality is completely different. That is, the events of recent years show clearly that it is the very power and influence of the United States that manage to resolve conflicts. It was no coincidence that reference was made to Munich, that no European country has yet managed to face up to what, in 1938, Neville Chamberlain called "a quarrel in a faraway country among people of whom we know nothing."

The guarantee of territorial integrity and defense against an external threat are of primary interest—to us and the other countries of Central and East Europe. There is, however, another aspect here that has loomed large in all of its urgency since the collapse of the Iron Curtain. It is our 1,000 years of enshrinement in the West European civilization process, enshrinement interrupted by the Nazi and communist eras—a period in the time scale of European history far from long enough to suppress our feeling of belonging to the West. The natural ties among the Central European states should not arouse unnecessary fears on the Russian side. Since reference was made to Munich, we can also recall the declaration of the Atlantic Charter, NATO's predecessor. This pronouncement, which still forms the backbone of the Western democracies' foreign policy, declared at the time of greatest risk to Western civilization—in the middle of World War II—that states affiliated in the Charter would never be interested in making territorial gains. There must be no border changes that the population of the appropriate territory would not want. Furthermore, the Atlantic Charter acknowledged the principles of free trade, free passage, and free access to raw material sources. The right of all nations to choose the form of government under which they want to live was confirmed. It is not without interest even today that the Atlantic Charter's proclamation was also signed by communist Russia. So, the current Partnership for Peace program follows up on the tried-and-tested constants of the accommodating policy of the Western allies, who were not listened to by the former Soviet Union.

We see that the West's hand is still extended to Russia. The 50 years that have gone by have provided clear proof that a confrontationist policy was always alien to the North Atlantic alliance. It is normal that the natural ties broken off in the recent past are being resumed again. Incidentally, what else is taking place in the countries of the former Soviet Union? Something similar, but far from similar, as only the resumption of broken-off ties with the aid of military force can be.

After many years, Russia again has a choice. The path of cooperation, despite all of the excesses of the Russian political scene, seems to be the most viable. The West's hand, extended toward Russia in cooperation,

will be even more accommodating with the future NATO members. At the beginning of this century, Russia made it clear to the whole world that it wants to be part of Europe. Why does it not at least try this at the end of the century?

Czech Republic: 'Uncertainties' Remain After Christopher Visit

AU2503144696 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 22 Mar 96 p 12

[Commentary by Pavel Posusta: "Christopher Has Gone, the Uncertainties Remain"]

[FBIS Translated Text] U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher was compelled to put on rose-tinted glasses in Prague so that, in his vision of a democratic and undivided Europe outlined to his 12 partners from the former communist countries, he was able to dispel concerns about an unclear future and a security vacuum. Nevertheless, it was hard for him to do so completely.

The "eternal waiting" of postcommunist Europe in the North Atlantic alliance's anteroom was, in Christopher's presentation, narrowed down to a more specific time frame—to this December, when, perhaps, NATO will make the fundamental political decision on who will become its new members, when, and under what conditions. At least one opinion expressed from within the alliance's Brussels headquarters—by someone who, understandably, does not wish to be named—immediately cast doubt on this claim: "This is the view of the United States; decisions are made by all of the member countries."

The words that Christopher used in Prague were intended especially for the ears of the Kremlin, where the U.S. secretary of state was heading next and where the alliance's secretary general, Javier Solana, had also held talks to try and persuade Moscow to cooperate more closely. "One of the central issues of the future Europe will be Russia's attitude toward its new independent neighbors. Russia must not be isolated; nowhere else is it so important for democracy to put down its roots. Russia's reform efforts are being exposed to pressure, and success is not guaranteed," said Christopher.

According to Christopher, this was demonstrated by the Russian State Duma, when it voted to restore the USSR, which is unacceptable to Washington: Twelve former republics decided in favor of independence. However, according to Christopher's vision, the Russian presidential elections in June are critical from at least two points of view. While President Yeltsin rigorously rejects the Duma's decision, the party of the presidential candidate with, so far, the greatest support, the communist Zyuganov, was the initiator of the appropriate resolution. Apart from this, Zyuganov makes no secret of the fact that, as head of state, he would adopt an even tougher stance against the alliance's enlargement. "I do not believe the communists when they talk about the voluntary affiliation of the former republics," said Christopher's spokesman, Nicholas Burns, in Prague.

The existence of the independent Ukraine is important for the United States, emphasized the U.S. secretary of state, and the attitude of Lithuania, Estonia, and Latvia, represented at the Prague meeting, oward a return to the womb of the USSR is very well known.

The fact that the United States is also experiencing an election year that will decide on the country's next leader is, in this context, far less significant. Clinton's stances, conveyed by Christopher, are clear, and even the most likely Republican candidate, Dole, would not cause a fundamental turnaround with his pragmatic approach to foreign policy.

Although the immediate reactions of commentators to the Prague meeting and Christopher's promises differ in the stress they put on the chances for the individual countries' membership in the alliance, they do have one thing in common. Central Europe can hardly be satisfied with words inasmuch as it has been knocking impatiently on the doors of both the alliance and the European Union for several years. "NATO can hardly say to the candidates for membership, after having aroused their hopes, that they will not be allowed into the alliance without suffering a massive loss of prestige. This problem would, however, be less acute if the current members of another Western club, the European Union, were more magnanimous, cared less about their domestic lobbies, and opened their doors," commented Britain's FINANCIAL TIMES on Christopher's visit.

Czech Republic: Klaus on Symbolism of Czech-German Pipeline

LD2503174796 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1400 GMT 25 Mar 96

[Report by Jitka Kucerova at crude oil terminal in Nelahozeves]

[FBIS Translated Text] At a ceremony held here a few minutes ago, Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus, Vladimir Dlouhy, minister of industry and trade, and Dr. Otto Wiesheu, Bavarian minister for economics and transport, opened the new Ingolstadt oil pipeline. The official guests emphasized in their speeches that thanks to the new pipeline the Czech Republic had ceased to be dependent on the rather unreliable Russian oil supplies. Prime Minister Klaus pointed out that the oil pipeline is a joint Czech-German project. He said, I quote: I

am convinced that our cooperation in this project symbolizes something deeper than simply the actual results achieved; it symbolizes the very good quality of current Czech-German relations.

Czech Republic: German Pipeline Halts Dependence on Russia

LD2503193696 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1700 GMT 25 Mar 96

[FBIS Translated Text] The official opening of the Ingolstadt oil pipeline took place in Nelahozeves today. Jitka Kucerova reports.

[Kucerova] The economic importance of opening the oil pipeline has been acknowledged for a long time now. The Czech Republic is now no longer dependent on Russian oil supplies, and this means that, in the future, Czech consumers will be able to rely on interrupted supplies and will be able to choose from different prices. However, the political aspect of this project is of equal importance. In this context, Vladimir Dlouhy, Czech minister of industry and trade, said the following.

[Begin Dlouhy recording] The strategic detachment from the Russian Federation is of extreme importance. This is not limited to technical problems experienced with the Druzhba oil pipeline. The situation is further complicated because of political developments in Russia, the decreasing stability in Russia in the past few months, and question marks over the result of the coming presidential elections. [end recording]

[Kucerova] The political significance of the oil pipeline is not limited to our independence from Russia. Czech Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus said that the project confirms that very good relations currently exist between the Czech Republic and Germany, proving as false the speculation that keeps emerging in the context of our relations in the past.

[Begin Klaus recording] I think that those who talk about Czech-German relations and continue to emphasize the events of 50-60 years ago are greatly mistaken. Nothing can be achieved by that. I think that cooperation on this project by Czech and German companies, banks, and financial institutions, as well as Czech, German, and, above all, Bavarian politicians, has proved that I am right. [end recording]

Slovakia: Meciar on Future of Nuclear Power Stations

LD2503174496 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1100 GMT 25 Mar 96

[FBIS Translated Text] During his recent visit to Vienna, Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar is reported by news agencies to have said that it might be possible to close down the Jaslovske Bohunice nuclear power station by the year 2000. In our interview, we have asked him whether this is going to be a one-off measure or whether it is the way our energy system is going to develop. Has the plan to complete the construction of the Mochovce nuclear power station undergone any changes?

[Begin Meciar recording] Our energy system depends on nuclear energy. We cannot afford simply to switch off a nuclear power station without a replacement. This is why we are striving to increase safety standards. We have again started investing in the Mochovce nuclear power station. I am briefed about those developments more or less every day, and I can tell you that more than 1,000 people are employed there at present. This means that my visit to Vienna and talks I held there will contribute to achieving soon the planned number of 3,500 people working there.

It is also important to realize that the life span of the Jaslovske Bohunice nuclear power station is guaranteed, I think, until the year 2002, or 2,003, or 2,005. I am not sure about the exact [word indistinct] date. This means that, according to the project parameters, the power station should not run after that date. When approving the project, the government and other institutions have promised that once the construction of the Mochovce power station is completed and the power station starts running, the Bohunice power station will be closed down earlier than planned.

This is generally accepted and there are no objections to this decision. However, now you can hear some people asking us why we are saying this and at the same time, paying several billion [currency not specified] for the reconstruction of the Bohunice power station. The truth is that the reconstruction is being carried out in order to increase safety during the running of this power station. It has nothing to do with the decision on when to close the power station down. After all, this is being done at the recommendation of top experts from the International Atomic Energy Agency.

This is why a discussion about this issue is still open and the point of view of safety standards is naturally being taken into account. It is in fact the most important point of view, though not the only one. The other issue taken into consideration is the energy market in Central Europe, as these two nuclear power stations running at the same time might create an energy surplus in the region. However, this is not our problem. Our problem is safety, above all the safety of our citizens, and the economic efficiency of these power stations. [end recording]

Slovakia: Skoda Inspects Mochovce Nuclear Power Plant

AU2503151996 Bratislava HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Slovak 21 Mar 96 p 5

[Article by Gabriela Horecna: "Mochovce Comes to Life With Inspections"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Life is coming back to the machine room, reactor hall, and other important facilities of the Mochovce nuclear power plant. The terms inspection and check are declined here in all cases, and are currently among the most important activities carried out in the power plant, which has waited several years for work to be completed. What does the inspection consist of, however, and what specific form does it take? We sought an answer to this question at the beginning and the end. Since the first step is the inspection of the documentation, we sat down with the equipment supplier, the sponsor, and the finisher in an office to study the atmosphere, and particularly the progress of the work required by the inspections.

We discussed the problems with inspections with Jan Hutt, who is in charge of the technical supervision of the sponsor.

About Inspections

"The main purpose of the current inspections is to check the power plant's equipment so that the supplier of the technical equipment can guarantee all the technical equipment of the first and the second units that were installed or are stored in warehouses. For this reason, the general supplier of technical equipment, Skoda Prague, prepared an inspection project that precisely defines what is being inspected, to what extent, what the criteria are for assessing the equipment. Of course, the results and recommendations for minor repairs, or replacement of already installed parts of the equipment are the decisive factor. The supplier of the equipment, the sponsor, and the finisher are taking part in the inspections. Deadlines for inspections are very demanding. The deadline for the first unit is the end of April, and for the second the end of May. If you imagine that we take the power plant apart and check it to the last screw, you are wrong. It is simply not possible because such a job would require several years work. Therefore, the philosophy, or more precisely the system of priority

was chosen. This means that the more important and exposed equipment is checked by the expanded inspection.

Rationalization of the Check

"I will give an example. The finisher KP Co. of Brno has approximately 8,000 fittings. It is virtually impossible to inspect them all, so a reference sample is selected. If there are 50 in one room, we inspect five to ten. Since they have been exposed to the same conditions for years, we assume that they are all in the same state. Based on the results of the inspections, the state of the equipment is assessed, and if needed, such measures are recommended as will bring them back to a state capable of continuing safe operation. In the dismantled equipment, where the actual state of equipment calls for a small amount of repair, e.g., cleaning of the inner part, replacement of a seal, lubrication, etc., the repair work is done during the inspection, and the technical equipment is assembled to a state capable of operation. The assessment of the state of the equipment takes place in the presence of the sponsor, who endorses the results of the inspection. The inspection project is completed by a report on the results of the inspection."

Inspection of the Machine Room

While we were talking, a group of experts examined the documentation. It is in order, without any shortcomings. The members of the working team confirm by their signatures on the protocol on the execution of the inspection of the documentation that there are no shortcomings. Thereby, they also give a signal that the inspection of the equipment can take place.

Our target is the machine room, where there are extreme working conditions, as the freezing cold outside the machine-room entrance affects the temperature behind the doors. This does not change anything of the fact that a group of inspection technicians from Skoda Prague came here to check the internal walls of the tube plate of the low-pressure heaters. An endoscope, television, video—everything is ready. The endoscope probe gradually enters 10 tube plates, and we can observe the state of their internal walls on a TV monitor. The entire inspection process is videorecorded.

Minor Corrosion Is Flushed

What results of the inspection did you expect? We ask one of the inspection technicians. "Since the entire equipment has been installed for some time, we expected some damage. We actually expected worse results than what we obtained. By means of the probe, as we cannot get into the tube plate of the heater any other way, we determined that in places there is a thin layer of corrosion that by no means jeopardizes the quality of the equipment. We will put the tube plates into a good and satisfactory state by flushing them under a certain pressure, so the corroded particles break off the walls and flow out. For us, the final indicator of the quality will be the purity of the water. We have inspected all five low-pressure heaters in this manner, and found them all in the same state."

The inspection of one type of equipment ends and another begins. That is how the present and future days are filled at the construction site that is coming to life again.

Slovakia: Ethnic Hungarian Official on Treaty Prospects

AU2203202596 Budapest UJ MAGYARORSZAG in Hungarian 22 Mar 96 p 3

[Interview with MDKM Chairman Bela Bugar by Udvardy; place and date not given: "Facing an Equation of Many Unknowns"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Udvardy] What is the position of the Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement [MDKM]? Will you support the ratification of the basic treaty?

[Bugar] It depends on a lot of factors whether we will support the ratification or not. For example, parliamentary acceptance of the Penal Code, the acceptance of territorial division, the type of "explanatory text" to supplement the treaty, and whether voting will take place simultaneously with other proposals, will all be determining factors. There are a lot of unknowns in this equation, and all the factors are still unknown to us, so we cannot solve the equation.

[Udvardy] How will the Penal Code issue affect the assertion of national minority rights?

[Bugar] Two paragraphs of the Penal Code deal with ways to shut someone's mouth who might want to tell the truth. I am talking here about Paragraph 92 and Paragraph 98. Paragraph 92 says that organizing a meeting with the aim of "undermining the constitutional order"—this is what they said about our meeting in Komarom, too—can be punished with several years of prison or fines. Paragraph 98 judges the dissemination of "untrue information" abroad.

[Udvardy] Will you be able to make use of your recently closer cooperation with the Slovak opposition in the parliamentary debates?

[Bugar] I regard the fact that the opposition succeeded in coming to an agreement as a good sign. We have constant coordination with the Slovak opposition; in future debates, we will agree on who will take the floor on various issues. However, I think that even a united stand of the opposition will not particularly affect the acceptance of the proposal of territorial division. It true that it happened once that they accepted one or two modifying proposals from every opposition party, to make sure that they would not be blamed for sweeping away every opposition proposal they did not like. In my view, one cannot expect any big change in the current debate on the territorial division, and the parliament will adopt the government's original proposal.

Slovakia: Independent Candidates Take Mayoral Posts

LD2503192096 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1700 GMT 25 Mar 96

[FBIS Translated Text] The Slovak Election Commission discussed today the results of the Saturday election in 11 districts, while confirming the correctness of the voting.

Most mandates for the position of mayor were won by independent candidates—40 percent. The second-highest number was won by candidates for the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia and by the Christian Democratic Movement—over 26 percent.

Hungary: Interior Minister Assesses Police Work

AU2503145596 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 25 Mar 96 p 9

[Interview with Hungarian Interior Minister Gabor Kuncze by Ferenc Hajba; place and date not given: "I Demand That the Police Always Be Neutral Toward Parties—According to Interior Minister Kuncze, One Must Not Generalize From Individual Cases"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Hajba] As a Free Democrat and [cabinet] minister, to what extent are you able to assert your party's original program?

[Kuncze] I am member of the party's National Council and the executive committee—in other words, in the decisionmaking forums of the Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ]—and I participate in the parliamentary group sessions; therefore, I have not become detached from the party's daily work. It is a different matter that, at the government sessions, I can represent the SZDSZ's own opinion, which, on a given issue, can be different from that of the Socialists, until a decision is made. However, once the government's decision is made, I have to represent this stance. This is a natural consequence of political work and of the sharing of responsibilities and does not mean the abandonment of the SZDSZ's program and values.

[Hajba] I ask this because the SZDSZ's National Council often publicly criticizes the work of organizations and offices that fall under the Interior Ministry.

[Kuncze] The Interior Ministry embraces a large area. We have problems, and I am sometimes also attacked in the party for certain problems. I also find this to be natural, and politicians have to be able to live with it.

[Hajba] A report of the National Council's working committee is concerned about the party's self-identity, is worried about the decrease of sensitivity concerning human rights and finds the principle of equality of citizens to be in danger in light of the activities of the police, which is under the competence of the SZDSZ-controlled Interior Ministry.

[Kuncze] In my view, sensitivity toward social, as well as human rights, is also part of the party's self-identity and values. For this very reason, I am not so pessimistic. Those who firmly question me about the SZDSZ's original values are acting correctly. However, they should take into consideration how much of the given values can be implemented and in how much time, and how big the minister's actual room for maneuvering is while he constantly has to act.

[Hajba] Are you thinking of the political limits of your own room for maneuvering?

[Kuncze] Not primarily. The point is that it requires time to change the attitude of a police force of 40,000 people. [passage omitted]

[Hajba] This is probably true, but something should still be done to prevent such brutal legal violations by the police like the one that demanded the life of a mentally ill man in Rumi.

[Kuncze] The Rumi tragedy is an extreme case and one must not draw general conclusions from this for the whole police force. [passage omitted] Naturally, this case also confirmed for me that we must do even more in the interest of respecting human rights, and that legal violations must be prevented. For this reason, under the leadership of social psychologist Gyorgy Csepel, a scientific assessment has been started at the police to find out what policemen think of minorities and what motivates their actions. We will use the findings of the assessment in staff training. [passage omitted]

[Hajba] The U.S. State Department's human rights report, which actually recognizes the efforts of the Interior Ministry and the police, criticizes the Hungarian police's discrimination against the Gypsies.

[Kuncze] One cannot deny the signs of this in connection with some concrete cases. Some members of the police do indeed behave differently when they notice that the suspect is part of the Romany community. It also happens that someone is only suspected with committing a crime because he is a Gypsy. This is intolerable, and we firmly act against this. However, the issue is more complicated than this. The biggest losers of the change of the regime are people who had been poor before, too, or had no schooling. Unemployment exceeds 50 percent among the Gypsies who have been in a disadvantageous situation for decades. The number of crimes against the property has increased in the 1990's, and a significant proportion of those committing these acts are Gypsies. [passage omitted]

[Hajba] Would you be able to come to a better understanding with the Gypsies if there were more policemen of Gypsy origin?

[Kuncze] Naturally we do not have any surveys on the number of Gypsies in the police. The national Gypsy self-government and the police leadership agreed that the police would help young Gypsy people enter the police's vocational schools. In Nograd county, in cooperation with the Gypsy self-governments, the police has involved psychologists and teachers in order to prevent conflicts. [passage omitted]

Hungary: Use of Army Airfields by Civilian Aircraft

AU2503205196 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 23 Mar 96 p 1

[Correspondent's report on interview with Laszlo Borsits, deputy state secretary at the Defense Ministry, and Lieutenant Colonel Imre Mesztegnyei: "Billions Are Needed To Make Army Airfields Into Civilian Ones"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Hungarian Army would not deny allowing civilian aircraft to use its airfields, but this requires investments of billions [currency not specified]—Laszlo Borsits, deputy state secretary at the Hungarian Defense Ministry, told NEPSZABADSAG. So far, only one such request has arrived, for the development of the Taszar airfield, but this had to be postponed because of the IFOR [Implementation Force] mission.

"Civilian aircraft have already landed on military airfields with special permission. Besides, it is not rare in Western countries that the army operates mixed airfields with the civilian air control authorities. There are mainly financial and technical obstacles hindering this in Hungary.

"The Hungarian military airfields have to be restructured in accordance with the west European stipulations and the international air traffic agreements. Among other things, these airfields must be equipped with air traffic control installations, such as radar. In addition, they also have to be fitted with customs and passport control facilities. All this requires great sums of money and, so far, no investor has come up with the funding of this restructuring," Laszlo Borsits told us.

Laszlo Borsits also mentioned the fact that the Somogy county's general assembly called upon the Defense Ministry in 1995 and asked whether there was any possibility for civilian use of the Taszar airfield. However, this plan had to be scrapped for the time being because, in addition to the Hungarian Army, the U.S. IFOR troops are using this airfield today.

"The Americans put in several installations at Taszar that make air traffic control safer, and aircraft can thus now land even under bad weather conditions," Lt. Col. Imre Mesztegnyei told us. However, neither Imre Mesztegnyei nor any other military expert was willing to tell us whether the IFOR troops might leave this equipment behind after their departure, even for payment.

Hungary: Army To Sell Barracks, Airfields, Buildings

AU2603095996 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 25 Mar 96 pp 1, 3

[Article by Irene Szabo: "It Is Difficult To Sell the Army Barracks"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Twenty-six army barracks, 42 airfields, firing ranges, training grounds and fields, 19 storage depots and bases, a number of sports buildings, garrison clubs, medical bases, and housing complexes are for sale. The Lillafured cave center and the feared Nagyatad site ["futkoso"—penitence center] will be auctioned, and they even want to sell part of the area of the Bakony military helicopter regiment and other service buildings. The director and the department head of the organization dealing with the sales briefed NEPSZAVA on the situation of the Hungarian Army's property sales.

Of the Army's property, estimated at 700 billion forints, more than 250 buildings and pieces of land can be found on the authorized sales list, and 111 of these are said to have a high value. As Major Jozsef Illes, head of the property utilization department, said, some 26 complete barracks, 42 firing ranges, training grounds and fields, 19 stores and storage bases, several sports buildings, garrison clubs, and medical bases are among the latter. Among others, the Lillafured cave center, the Borgond military compound, the former Nagyatad penitence barracks, the Nagyvazsony forest farm, some areas and service facilities of the Bakony military helicopter regiment, and the forest camp in Sovenyhaza that belongs to Opusztaszer are for sale.

We learned from Illes that with the modernization of the army, more pieces of land and buildings are expected to come up for sale. With the transformation and closing down of military organizations, a number of buildings will be considered excess. Illes believes that the list could double, although, as he said, possible NATO membership may also influence any further intentions to sell property.

"We are busy trying to find a market, but the offer of properties is ample while the purchasing power is small," Engineer Colonel Jozsef Szeip, maintenance and placement chief director for the Army, told NEPSZAVA. According to Szeip, the local governments have not yet realized they could lure the private sector and entrepreneurs into Army properties that are inside or near towns, and this could also increase the tax revenues of towns and villages. We have learned that they managed to establish positive cooperation with the local governments of, for example, Baja, Aszalo, Bogacs,

Hajos, Tokaj, Uny, Mezotur, Tardona, Opusztaszer, Retsag, Nagyatad, Janoshalma, and Debrecen. Cooperation talks are under way with, for example, Abasar, Csongrad, Verpelet, Bekescsaba, Hatvan, Dunafoldvar, Miskolc, and Nagykanizsa.

Concerning the guarding of the deserted properties, Szeip said that the commanders are under pressure to train and, since the number of conscripts has significantly dropped partly due to the shortage of military staff, it is not possible to have the abandoned firing ranges or valueless properties with structures on them guarded by soldiers. As a matter of fact, they say that they will not guard a few bricks with weapons, Szeip emphasized. Naturally, the consequence of all this is that the training grounds and fields turn into rubbish dumps, and several of the smaller properties have lost their value and been removed from the sales list. Guarding the valuable properties has a high cost, and the many tens of millions of forints that this costs further worsens the Army's already bad financial position. As Szeip noted, the achievement of their income obligation also depends on the sales that are conducted through bids.

Experts say that most of the properties for sale are in the Szolnok, Zala, Heves, Csongrad, Somogy, Veszprem, Bacs-Kiskun, Borsod, and Pest counties. We asked if any of the military assets for sale have serious pollution problems.

Illes said that this might be the case in some places but that the general situation is not worse than the national average. Illes also said that, since their organization does not have foreign trade rights, they appreciate possible inquiries from abroad. They are trying to make the Army properties neither too expensive nor too cheap. It is an open question what and by when they will manage to sell, Illes said.

Hungary: MSZP's Vitanyi Views Party Disputes

96CH0037B Budapest 168 ORA in Hungarian 16 Jan 96 pp 8-10

[Interview with MSZP National Committee Chairman Ivan Vitanyi by Attila Bujak; place and date not given: "Deafness 'at Will'; Ivan Vitanyi on Internal Disputes Within the MSZP"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *At the Miskolc congress, the larger of the two ruling parties postponed until March 1996 the most important debates. All this suggests renewed, heavy partisan fighting in the new year, after the temporary calm in politics that followed the adoption of the budget. What does the future hold for the government? Does the modernization process have a future, and do the kamikaze politics accompanied by a definite loss of popularity have a determined following within the MSZP? The war of preparatory statements has begun. The overture was signalled by last week's meeting of the MSZP's Left-Wing Grouping. Attila Bujak interviewed Ivan Vitanyi, the party's national committee chairman, concerning the anticipated debates and the reasons for the internal division within the MSZP.*

[Bujak] I always feel disturbed about political statements which go like this: "What a historical anomaly, how sad that a socialist party is forced to manage and build capitalism." In contrast, a social democratic party is making its own lair when it establishes the foundations for bourgeois law and order, when it yields to privatization and enrichment. In other words, to use this bizarre expression: when it "builds capitalism." This happens because a social democratic party can exist only under bourgeois conditions. And yet, on an emotional basis, many in the MSZP, and particularly in the left wing of the party, question the validity of these bourgeois, or capitalist conditions, if you will.

[Vitanyi] I have regarded the concept of "building capitalism" as rubbish from the beginning. I did so, because the Socialist Party, or many of those who appreciate the word "socialist," have once already accepted the fact that at this moment capitalism provides the only possible alternative. Accordingly, capitalism exists, thank you very much, that's it. We are not facing a situation in which a nonexistent capitalism must be "built" so to speak, instead we have a situation in which nothing but capitalism exists. And in this context socialism means that we should try to establish as many social opportunities for as large a segment of society as possible. Hungary has been assigned a difficult task to perform. It is not easy to bridge the abyss. Yes, there once again are, and will be citizens, entrepreneurs, if you will. A bourgeoisie with a peculiar profile is evolving; it will be difficult to find our old features in this group, including our moral characteristics. Quite naturally, it is irritating to find on occasion that the organizing members of the new entrepreneurial stratum are those who have sailed entirely different waters not too long ago; they have been alive after all, they did not simply emerge from a vacuum. Since this entrepreneurial stratum does not have roots, it is occasionally reckless and greedy, and its members are not as likeable as the residents of the Buddenbrook House. All this is alarming, and therefore we see writings which indicate that the kind of capitalism we have is not desirable. At the same time, however, capitalism is the only system in which one can live, but this does not mean that one has to like capitalism. We may safely reject the forced situation introduced under socialism, according to which "socialism must be liked and built." Because once we reject the "must build," we also reject the "must like."

[Bujak] Don't you feel emotional uncertainty once in a while? Are you not rebelling sometimes? Don't you say: I had enough of this, things cannot go on like this?

[Vitanyi] Of course I do, and more than that. I am convinced that social development has not come about in a way that capitalism has won over socialism, and that from now on it is all hallelujah. Because day after day we find manifestations which indicate that capitalism has more than enough contradictions. It is very ugly, it includes misery, crime, alcohol, escape, loneliness, and—horrible dictum—exploitation. All this is part of life, one has to fight these phenomena, and one has to establish effective legal forms in which this fight can go on. But with reference to the romantic anticapitalist sentiments harbored by certain socialists, this still does not mean that life can go on as it did before.

[Bujak] Nevertheless, a conditioning in the opposite direction continues within the party. You referred to this as the "existence of a dual code in the souls." Indeed, many people insist on exercising their former power. What can be returned from the sunken Atlantis? Don't you feel on occasion that some people believe that here we have these four years, and that there will be no other opportunity like this?

[Vitanyi] Not only the Socialist Party feels that way. The rest of the parties feel the same way once they find themselves in the same position. This region always had its feoffees to power. This is standard behavior in this area. Irrespective of whether the Socialist Party or the MDF [Hungarian Democratic Forum] is in power, those close to the party instinctively feel that the time has come to exercise power in the most direct way. And at that point the process of "streamlining" decision choices begins, which ultimately centralizes power in the hands of relatively few people.

[Bujak] We did not come here to criticize or to agree with the Left-Wing Grouping, the group rallying around Tamas Krausz. But are they not correct when they say that the evolving—what should we call it? bourgeoisie?—does not respect the legality which, among other things, enables the freedom of enterprising. The way that group conducts itself is inconsistent with laws governing both taxation and business management; abiding by these laws would be fundamental requirements in a democracy and a social market economy. In asserting these things, Krausz's group does not demand "more socialism," all it seeks is normal capitalism. As Krausz's group put it: The fact that one of the MSZP vice chairmen is a "multibillionaire" and that therefore the party should be held morally responsible is not the problem. The problem is that the police has already charged the business linked to the name of this vice chairman with conducting questionable activities.

[Vitanyi] It is a fact that according to traditional ideology, the MSZP is the party of people living from wages and salaries, rather than the party of entrepreneurs. But this no longer holds true if we consider the way modern social democratic parties operate.

[Bujak] Like Mitterrand's favorite, socialist billionaire Bernard Tapie. He has already been incarcerated.

[Vitanyi] A modern social democratic party protects the interests of wage earners and salaried persons, but it does not want to hurt entrepreneurs either. There is, by all means, a question as to how we should relate to this matter, as to where to draw the line. We must think through how it would affect a socialist party if, let us assume, 80 percent of its representatives were entrepreneurs. I am not saying that this is the case, but undoubtedly, many businessmen are seated in parliament. How large could this ratio be? There is neither an answer to this question, nor a rule for this today. So much so that I, for instance, sit among other members of the parliamentary group, and as a matter of fact, I do not know which of these members are entrepreneurs. Some people might be able to tell, but I cannot. This definitely represents a difference within our ranks. Because just as I believe that there exists some cooperation among intellectuals, even if they are members of another party, I also believe that two people who own mills or two oil merchants understand each other. A law addressing this issue has been mentioned at the beginning of this term, but then the proposal got stuck somewhere. I, too, would like to know who is who, and what kind of forces in what proportions function in the various bodies of the party.

[Bujak] In contrast, presumably some people are very well aware of who is who. Tamas Krausz, the lead person of the Left-Wing Grouping states: Lajos Bokros was applauded by the delegates in Miskolc because an overwhelming majority of the delegates were proprietors, and because Bokros made a firm commitment to protect their property. For this reason Krausz recommended that party organizations delegate wage earners and salaried persons, [rather than businessmen] to the next party congress.

[Vitanyi] Tamas Krausz is somewhat correct in this regard.

[Bujak] Indeed, they applauded Lajos Bokros because they were proprietors, and there he was, their "business manager."

[Vitanyi] Things do not work that way, of course: "I am now a proprietor and therefore I applaud Lajos Bokros." The Socialist Party firmly represents the interests of proprietors, too. Proprietors, or capitalists if you will, cannot be created "by appointment." This process must be helped by the MSZP. The MSZP supports modernization policies, irrespective of who is involved. I would regard as dangerous if this were to develop into a global debate, blurring the truly important nuances, if we were to declare Lajos Bokros to be an angel or the devil. A female delegate from the countryside said: she looked into Lajos Bokros's eyes, she saw a sacred flame in his eyes, and since then she has become his supporter.

[Bujak] Dismissing Lajos Bokros, and appointing a socialist finance minister in his stead is the most important demand made by the Left-Wing Grouping.

[Vitanyi] At this moment we do not need a socialist finance minister, because the economic policy which must be followed is neither socialist, nor liberal. One has to make installment payments if one becomes indebted. This issue has nothing to do with socialism or liberalism. This problem might be appropriately raised in Sweden, for example. We must climb out of the pit first.

[Bujak] A delegate at the congress asserted that a general adverse feeling to enrichment is not expressly a social democratic value. I believe that originally a significant segment of society related to the MSZP this way: harnessing the rich, harnessing this "marauder's world" are socialist-social democratic functions. And let us not forget about the unemployed steel worker, who tore up his party membership certificate and left the auditorium after giving standing applause to the finance minister.

[Vitanyi] Indeed, it is a social democratic tenet that the processes of capitalism must be "tamed." (Incidentally, a number of liberal factions also hold the same position.) The difference is in the extent. I always felt that in general, the basic question pertained to the extent to which things were pursued. We should reach agreements regarding the extent to which we pursue things. But this would require specific examinations. Voicing slogans would not suffice.

[Bujak] You once said that a democracy of differences of opinion exists within the party. Platforms can be freely established, people can argue about things. The question is whether these intentions can be aggregated in the course of some synthesizing debate. I have difficulty perceiving a satisfactory strategic synthesis between the views of the left-wingers and, for example, your views, considering the left-wing criticisms voiced the other day. And these were only the overture to statements that will flow until March.

[Vitanyi] What I find as odd in your question is that I can easily imagine a good debate between myself and the Left. We have already debated very well on a number of occasions. We hardly agreed on anything, but we understood each other very well. This is possible when intentions are shared. A problem exists when there is no debate, and when one hears only a flow of statements. The trouble is that the leadership is not searching for a palatable language.

[Bujak] What role does the party chairman play in reconciling diverse views?

[Vitanyi] Not only the party chairman, but no one near the so-called center of power tries to reconcile views. Everyone is busy enforcing his own views.

[Bujak] In this regard the party chairman's position can be summarized as follows: "We must put the country in order." Period. This infinitely oversimplified view of "sanitation, clearing out the junk" might be acceptable for now. Nevertheless, it seems that this approach does not satisfy the needs of the majority. Otherwise, we would not have all those meetings, dinner parties, separate meetings and meetings in [wine] cellars.

[Vitanyi] The party membership needs a long-range concept. I am hesitating to say that this should be a "policy of principles," because many people claim that the principles are no longer valid, and that only pragmatic concepts should be used in politics. I, on the other hand, am a great advocate of real pragmatism, which includes principles. If someone acquires a leadership position in this country today, he immediately becomes an advocate of a kind of narrowed-down pragmatism. He pays attention exclusively to the [immediate] concerns he faces; this is understandable because he finds himself in the thicket of tasks to be performed, and he wants to extricate himself from this thicket. And then he looks around to find where he could "take action." I was not the one who said what I am about to tell you. Imre Szekeres said this about Gyula Horn in a 168 ORA interview. I believe: Horn is a politician capable of seeing only five meters ahead, but he sees things within five meters very clearly, and maneuvers with certainty. Once he progresses five meters, he once again looks around, and once again sees things within the next five meters. This flows from the situation he is in, of course.

[Bujak] I will once again raise this issue to you, the chairman of the MSZP's National Committee: A further deterioration in the popularity indexes of the Socialist Party in 1996 will not strengthen the synthesizing work advocated by you. All this could also endanger the coalition, and produce crisis for the MSZP, similar to the crisis situation once experienced by the MDF. The end result could be hasty action, falling apart,

internal turbulence, while time is passing and Hungary's situation is not improving.

[Vitanyi] This is a real threat. At that point two types of political conduct could prevail, and which one would ultimately prevail will be decided more or less at the March congress. One of the approaches would sound like this: "One way or another, we are united, we have produced results. True, our popularity has declined, but a voter base of a significant size will stand up for us. Let us maintain this unity; even this way the present government is better than its predecessor." As people say: "There is no real alternative to this government." Let us not make changes in the team, let us not change our principles, let us defend each other, "let us fight the heightening attack by the Right," and then we can be reassured and face the next elections. The other approach would call for thinking through everything, drawing conclusions, and partially reorganizing the team. There are differences, of course, as to the extent to which we should move to the left, or in the direction of the social democrats. Nevertheless we must innovate, by all means. Neither of these approaches is perfect. Most likely, the congress will compromise, and the compromise is going to mean neither security nor absolute failure. The threat of a melting popularity exists. But I am certain that the Socialist Party will continue to have a significant constituency. We will find out in 1998 the extent to which the party will be capable of governing.

[Bujak] In contrast, the Left claims that the party must embark on entirely new policies. They are talking about komprador [obscure term] bourgeoisie, a mafioso bourgeoisie. This is not exactly apparachnic terminology, it is much rather an anticapitalist stance.

[Vitanyi] I believe that a deep-rooted turn to the left, the way they perceive this, would be impossible. There are no such left-wing politics today.

[Bujak] An ear specialist explained on television that deafness at will ["facultative deafness"] is a condition in which a child pretends to be hard of hearing or not to hear at all. Disputes and the war of statements within your party remind me of this condition: It seems that deafness at will prevails at the MSZP. No one hears what the other one has to say, because no one wants to hear the other. It is not at all certain that someone pretending deafness in a party understands indications received from society.

[Vitanyi] Look, a thorough debate concerning our opportunities and what has to be done should have been conducted in 1993 and 1994. Let us say, when the Bekesi program was compared against Horn's...what was it called?..."paid advertisement." Everything was retracted in the end, but Gyula Horn never apologized. And Bekesi did not provide an explanation either regarding the meaning of perspectives. The party did not really deal with the question of what was at issue. They did not think through the meaning of the failure of the Soviet system, the direction in which European society was proceeding, and what should be done. Had we debated these issues in those days, we might not have attained a 54 percent majority in parliament, but only a 46 percent majority. But this "near majority" would be much more stable, and the coalition would also be much more unified. It is not too late, even today it is not too late. But I think that the debate will once again be postponed, because maintaining the status quo always demands that issues be skimmed through as soon as possible. The party carries this virus. I do not know whether one has to suffer for the "original sin." I do not know. They might get away with it.

B-H: Izetbegovic Replies to Letter From U.S. Senators

AU2503211896 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 25 Mar 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, today replied to a recent letter from U.S. Senators Bob Dole and Joseph Lieberman, B-H PRESS has learned. The letter by the U.S. senators, among other things, demands that the military cooperation with Iran be terminated in the interest of Bosnia-Herzegovina. The letter also questions the compliance of the formation of the Agency for Research and Documentation with the provisions of the Dayton accord.

In the reply, President Izetbegovic once again denies the presence of Iranian military personnel in our country.

It is true, the letter states, that some 50 to 60 members of the El Mujahid unit, who are now civilians because the unit was disbanded at the beginning of January, are present in two localities. It is incompatible with the moral principles of our people to expel the people who fought on our side and have no place to go because they cannot return to their countries.

In the continuation of the letter, President Izetbegovic maintains that the formation and the functioning of the Agency for Research and Documentation was compliant with the Dayton accord. In the letter, he quotes the relevant provisions of this accord. Replying to some critical remarks referring to the orientation of our country, President Izetbegovic says:

I do not say, gentlemen senators, that everything is right on the territory controlled by the legal Bosnia-Herzegovina authorities and that there have been no mistakes, however, I would like to remind you that, despite all the war horrors, the legal Bosnian authorities have preserved the democratic institutions and created a wide area for the work of the independent media. Mosques, Catholic and Orthodox churches, and synagogues remained open on the territory controlled by the legal authorities, and there was neither censorship nor political trials. There was no retaliation or revenge either. These are the facts that cannot be disputed. In a war such as this one, this was a very difficult task.

I would also like to assure you that we will remain faithful to the principles of human rights and liberties, pluralist democracy, and a multiethnic open society. What you call Western values, we call the universal values, however, this is our choice, and with God's help we shall pursue them consistently and faithfully.

President Izetbegovic also proposes to Senator Dole that a Republican Party delegation visits Sarajevo. Bosnia is a small country, but it has the right to the truth, it is written at the end of the letter by President Izetbegovic.

B-H: Republicans Fear 'Disintegration Tendencies' in State

AU2603104096 Sarajevo VECERNJE NOVINE (European edition) in Serbo-Croatian 23-24 Mar 96 p 7

[Article by N.M.: "Alarming Tones"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Lately, we have witnessed the appearance of tones that negate the basic goal for which we fought. The statement that the reis ul-ulema of the Islamic community in Bosnia-Herzegovina made on Saturday, namely, that the Bosniaks in Bosnia-Herzegovina do not want a secular state, have put him in a direct confrontational position with President Izetbegovic, Stjepan Kljuic, president of the Republican Party, said at a regular news conference.

That is why the Republicans are appealing and insisting on urgent linking of all democratic forces in Bosnia-Herzegovina into a front for the struggle for a secular, democratic, indivisible, and sovereign Bosnia-Herzegovina, and to counteract disintegration tendencies. The Republicans believe that unless this is done, refugees will be manipulated and returned only to ethnically pure areas.

"Such tendencies are particularly present in Sarajevo, with only one goal, and that is to change the structure of the population in the capital," Kljuic believes.

This is precisely the reason that the Republicans have announced a stepping up of activities pertaining to the return of refugees and displaced persons, so that they can repair their homes as soon as possible and thus vote in their state, which is one of the ways of ensuring successful elections.

B-H: Kapetanovic Calls For Release of POW's

LD2503145096 Rome RAI Uno Television Network in Italian 1230 GMT 25 Mar 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Bosnia, and the question of the release of prisoners of war seems to be held up. Meanwhile, Hillary Clinton has arrived in Tuzla.

[Correspondent Pino Caserta] [Passage omitted] The POW's are released a few at a time. But it took a warning from the Contact Group of countries who met in Moscow two days ago. If the 300 prisoners still held in Bosnia in violation of the Dayton accord are not released, the conference on economic aid to Bosnia, which is to be held on 12 April in Brussels, will have to be cancelled. The release of 10 Bosnian

Serb prisoners in Mostar is expected at any moment. A Bosnian journalist was released this morning by the Serbs in Pale. This is what the Bosnian prime minister [as heard], Izudin Kapetanovic, who is in Rome for a conference on the reconstruction of Bosnia, had to say on the question of POW's:

[Begin Kapetanovic in Serbo-Croatian fading to Italian translation] We agreed at the conference at Dayton and in Geneva that all prisoners must be released. Those others who have to appear before the tribunal at The Hague must be tried. All others must be released. [end recording]

During the conference, which will last three days, problems of reconstruction will be discussed, reconstruction for which the World Bank plans to raise $5 billion in funds over three years.

B-H: Gen Dudakovic Views Federation, NATO, Abdic

AU2503103696 Zagreb VECERNJI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 21 Mar 96 p 7

[Interview with General Atif Dudakovic, commander of the 5th Corps of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, by Ljuba Djikic in Tomislavgrad; date not given: "No Compromise, No Federation"]

[FBIS Translated Text] At the beginning of this week, the commander of the 5th Corps of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, Division General Atif Dudakovic, visited the Tomislavgrad Corps District. In order to improve cooperation and remove some disagreements between the 5th Corps of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army and the HVO [Croatian Defense Council], Gen. Dudakovic talked to the commander of the Tomislavgrad Corps District, Major Gen. Zeljko Glasnovic. Afterward, both commanders expressed their satisfaction with the meeting. On that occasion we talked to Gen. Dudakovic.

We Will Have Strength for Reconstruction

[Djikic] What is the current situation in the Bihac and Kladusa region?

[Dudakovic] Since the Dayton agreement was signed, the security situation in Bihac and Kladusa, respectively in the Una-Sana Canton, has been satisfactory. However, there are many problems, just as in all recently liberated areas, but in that region in particular, for you know how long that region was under siege and what was going on in that region. The constant struggle against the Serb aggressor, added to which there has also been this conflict with "Abdic's forces," so, with a part of the misled Muslim population. That is really a paradox of the Bosnian krajina, apart from all the other misfortunes, to fight against our own brothers. However, it has also been some kind of inspiration to our fighters, because in that way they have shown that they were ready to do everything for their country. Fortunately, there has been no conflict between the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army and the HVO in that region, because throughout the war the HVO has coordinated its activities with the 5th Corps, which has members of all nationalities in its lines, not only Muslims.

[Djikic] What will it be like for Croats in the areas under the control of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army?

[Dudakovic] I am a soldier and I am not sufficiently informed in all the problems the civilians meet, but I know that these are hard times for all of us, including Croats, because the economy has been destroyed or stopped, but I believe that we will have strength for the reconstruction of the liberated areas. Regarding the Una-Sana Canton, it has large natural resources and economic potential in which demobilized young people should be employed.

[Djikic] You have often been associated with the destiny—disappearance, of the Bihac region HVO Gen. Vlado Santic? [HVO commander in this region who disappeared 8 March 1995, thought to have been murdered by Dudakovic's men, possibly in a brawl] Is there any news of his fate?

[Dudakovic] Unfortunately, there is nothing new on this, and the investigation and the court organs have not yet yielded any results no evidence on the destiny of Gen. Santic. In any case, I was out of the brigade at the time when he was chief of staff, so that such associations make no sense at all. The disappearance of Gen. Santic has been painful for his family, but it may be best if we do not open that page again until the appropriate authorities have their say!

[Djikic] Last week there were some disagreements between the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army members and the HVO in the territory of Kulen-Vakuf?

[Dudakovic] I think that the situation in Kulen-Vakuf has been unnecessarily politicized, which is really to no purpose to both the Muslims and the Croats. Namely, upon the liberation of that place, the HV [Croatian Army] withdrew from one part of Kulen-Vakuf and left it to the HVO. Kulen-Vakuf is a small town populated only by Muslims, and now, when the soldiers should withdraw to the barracks, only the local police will remain there. It would be really unnecessary for there to be policemen in Kulen-Vakuf from Grude, Ljubuski, Livno [all places in Herzegovina]. It was not a misunderstanding between the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army and the HVO, but between individuals.

Politicians Make Calculations

[Djikic] How do you comment on the IFOR [Implementation Force] reports saying that the Muslim forces, soldiers and the police, on the occasion of taking over the suburbs of Sarajevo—Ilidza, Grbavica—were threatening and plundering the local Serb population who wanted to stay?

[Dudakovic] Although it is not my zone of responsibility, I acknowledge that something like that is possible, because "there are black sheep in every fold," but as a soldier and a man I condemn such behavior and protest against it.

[Djikic] Why, in your opinion, are there such difficulties in implementing the provisions of the Dayton agreement regarding the political and civic organization of the Federation?

[Dudakovic] It is hard for me to comment on that, because the army is in the service of politics, however, it is true that the military part has been implemented quickest and best, because in the army there are orders, while the politicians always make calculations and have spare moves to make.

That Is America!

[Djikic] Recently, you visited the U.S. Army with the joint military delegation of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina?

[Dudakovic] We were introduced to the organization of the U.S. Army and NATO, on which model the federal army should also be organized. In short, it was worth seeing and saying—that is America!

[Djikic] Do you see the Federal Army as a part of NATO?

[Dudakovic] Of course! You know that there have been talks about the admission of the Federation to the "Partnership for Peace," and America, the world's leading power, has proved to be a big friend of Bosnia-Herzegovina, America, in fact, is the creator of the Federation and it must be interested in its future, as well as in its armament and the education of military personnel in the Federation, in order to establish the balance of power. You have noticed that European countries that have proved to be incapable of stopping the Serb aggression on Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina for four years have been poised against this attitude of America's toward the Federation. Europe is divided and, for instance, Germany, France, Great Britain, Russia have different interests.

"Abdic Is Defeated!"

[Djikic] Is there any possibility of a resumption of the conflict between the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army and the HVO?

[Dudakovic] There is, if both sides pursue their own interests, and if they take no interest in what is going on beyond the limits of "their own backyard." I believe we have "drawn" a certain experience and awareness from this war, and that it will not happen because we are too small a country to ruthlessly kill each other and destroy natural and material goods. I can understand that a man can be guilty of something, but monuments, churches, houses, and other buildings cannot be, but they have nevertheless been destroyed.

[Djikic] Finally, what is your stand, the stand of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, toward Fikret Abdic?

[Dudakovic] Fikret Abdic, for us, is militarily defeated, eliminated, dead. A man who has betrayed his own people, who has spent the war on the side of Karadzic's and Martic's Chetniks, who has made brothers kill each other, it the greatest traitor. As the commander of the 5th Corps I have talked to Abdic on many occasions, trying to convince him that he is on the wrong road, but he remained committed in his struggle against his own Muslim nation. I do not want to comment on the fact that he and a number of his followers are in the Republic of Croatia. You know that Fikret Abdic has erected the monument to Mujo Hrnjica, who was killed by the Muslims, also Husko Miljkovic, and Tale Licanin were killed by a Muslim hand, and I believe that such a destiny awaits Fikret Abdic, too.

[Box, p 7]

Joint Command

[Djikic] How do you see the organization of the future Army of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina—with a joint or one command?

[Dudakovic] With a joint command, as is envisaged by the Washington and Dayton agreements. It is true that the present joint staff functions badly, but I do not think there should be any problems.

[Djikic] Then why has the Defense Law not been adopted yet at the Federation level?

[Dudakovic] Because the politicians are not very willing to compromise, and there will be no Federation without this, the Federation which, in fact, has been created upon compromises.

B-H: 'Escalation of Tension' Over Occupying Barracks

AU2603104196 Sarajevo VECERNJE NOVINE (European edition) in Serbo-Croatian 23-24 Mar 96 p 2

[Commentary by Sasa Rukavina: "Tension Around Barracks"]

[FBIS Translated Text] It is not easy to be in General Rasim Delic's position today. As far back as December, when the Implementation Force [IFOR] started arriving in Bosnia-Herzegovina [B-H], he warned that the multinational troops would be taking over all the barracks, and that the B-H Army would have problems with accommodation.... Now the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] troops have further complicated things. They are obviously experiencing similar problems with IFOR, and this is probably the reason for the "battle" for every barrack. Can we interpret in this light the "escalation of tension" on Monday evening around the barracks in Butile and Blazuj near Sarajevo?

They are still vacant, and both the HVO and the B-H Army are still interested in them. Had the federal army been formed...the barracks would be occupied. However, there is neither a federal army nor any chance of someone seriously accepting the thesis on accommodation problems. In simple terms, "the escalation of tension" around the two barracks near Sarajevo fits into the series of federal agreements/disagreements.

The Croats' attempt (HDZ, HVO, Herzeg-Bosnia) to influence and take control of Sarajevo through Hadzici and the police stationed in the municipality has failed. For the time being, the attempt to militarily enter two barracks at two access points to the city has also failed. What will they try next? At the same time, B-H Army troops are grappling with other problems. The Party of Democratic Action, that is, the Bosniak federal partner, has political control over Sarajevo, but it has nowhere to deploy its army, or rather it can do so in Visoko, Kakanj, Bihac...perhaps in Tuzla, Jablanica, Travnik, or somewhere. However, irrespective of where they move the army, Pale will always remain at the same distance from Sarajevo.

So far, IFOR has not had a real chance to prove that it is essentially different from the UN Protection Force. Mladic's army has still not proven that it has had enough of war, and the B-H Army, despite all political talk about peace, must remain somewhere in the vicinity. In Butile, Blazuj.... HVO leaders are well aware of this, but they are also aware of what they and their troops have been "doing" to Sarajevo up until now. That is why we can expect a renewed "escalation of tension," but not like this one; the imaginative "federalists" will come up with something new. Would it not perhaps be a good idea for the (still legitimate) B-H authorities to start using the same logic?

B-H: IFOR Announces Formation of Civilian Commission

AU2503140896 Paris AFP in English 1357 GMT 25 Mar 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Tuzla, Bosnia-Herzegovina, March 25 (AFP)—Mayors of nine towns in Serb and Moslem-Croat-held land will meet in a separation zone on Tuesday [26 March] to launch northeast Bosnia's first joint civilian commission, IFOR [Implementation Force] officials said.

It will be tasked with implementing aspects of the Dayton peace accords on refugees, freedom of movement and economic reconstruction.

Top of the agenda will be the situation in Brcko, near the border with Croatia, and in Doboj, 50 kilometres (30 miles) west of here where the meeting is being held.

International arbitration has still to decide if Brcko should be placed under Serb or Moslem-Croat control, but thousands of Serb refugees who fled Sarajevo have already been bussed in there.

Meanwhile nearly 8,000 Moslem refugees want to return to Doboj, which is under Serb control, from Tesanj in Moslem Croat-held land, 20 kilometres (12 miles) to the south.

Also present at the meeting will be representatives of 10 international organisations monitoring peace in the former Yugoslav republic and helping rebuild it.

They include the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe, the World Bank and the European Union.

The meeting will be chaired by Michael Steiner, principle deputy to Carl Bildt, the High Representative in charge of implementing civilian aspects of the Dayton peace accords.

B-H: IFOR Criticized for Restricting Bosniak Movement

AU2503205896 Sarajevo VECERNJE NOVINE (European edition) in Serbo-Croatian 25 Mar 96 p 11

[Article by D. J.: "You Are Dancing to the Croat Tune"]

[FBIS Translated Text] On Friday, the War Presidency of Stolac municipality sent an open letter to IFOR [Implementation Force] regarding the visit of expelled

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Bosniaks to the villages of Crnici and Pljesivac-Greda the day before. The letter states, among other things, the following:

"The representatives of this Presidency have come to the conclusion that IFOR did not allow people to visit their private homes in that area. The impression that was created was that IFOR had offered the maximum protection to the local Croat population. From whom? From the unarmed Bosniak people who have been living in that area for centuries and who want to visit their property and their burned-down and blown-up houses?"

The letter also cites the visits to the villages of Prenje and Aladinici (17 March) when the expelled Bosniaks visited their property without any problems. The letter then adds:

"Gentlemen from IFOR, with your move, you have directly accepted the views of the local Croat authorities and are taking their side. In this way, you are making the already poor relations even more acute and are at the same time violating the provisions of the Dayton agreement, Annex 6 (agreement on human rights) and Annex 7 (agreement on refugees and displaced persons). Also, you are not missing a chance to threaten the Bosniak population if they dare demand their rights," the letter states, among other things. The letter was signed by Mehmed Dizdar, president of the War Presidency of Stolac municipality based in Mostar.

B-H: Bildt: Reconstruction in Jeopardy If POW's Not Freed

AU2503172496 Paris AFP in English 1704 GMT 25 Mar 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Brussels, March 25 (AFP)—The Bosnian Government was warned Monday that its refusal to release Bosnian Serb prisoners of war could prompt the international community to delay efforts to rebuild the country.

An international conference of potential donors to the reconstruction effort judged necessary to secure the peace in Bosnia has been provisionally scheduled for April 12 and 13 in Brussels.

But Carl Bildt, the former Swedish prime minister in charge of implementing civilian aspects of the peace accords warned that this would not go ahead unless prisoners who should have been liberated by January 19 were promptly set free.

"What is required is not partial and conditional compliance with the peace agreement but total and unconditional compliance," Bildt said at a meeting of EU foreign ministers here.

Bildt rejected Bosnian Government arguments that some prisoners were being held in an attempt to establish indictments for war crimes against them. "As of one hour ago there has been no contact with the International War Crimes Tribunal in respect of any of these cases," he said.

Bildt said significant progress still had to be made to meet his objective of securing commitments worth 1.2 billion dollars to fund reconstruction work this year.

"It is still a question of, is the money going to be there? At the moment we are faced with a shortfall of about a third."

Bildt said he would seek an increase in the U.S. offer—thought to be around 200 million—on a visit to Washington this weekend. He also intends to visit Tokyo and Islamic states in a bid to drum up funds.

B-H: Serbs: Bosnian Croats Hold 42 Soldiers in Mostar

LD2503202696 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 2010 GMT 25 Mar 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Banja Luka, 25 Mar (SRNA)—The Herzeg-Bosnia commission for the exchange [of prisoners] handed over 10 Serb soldiers, former inmates of Mostar's Rodoc prison, to the 2d and 3d Krajina Corps commission for the exchange [of prisoners] in Blagaj on Kupres Plateau at about 1600 today. [passage omitted]

According to Milan Ivancevic, member of the Serb Republic commission for the exchange, 42 Serb soldiers are still imprisoned in Mostar and they should be released by the end of the month.

B-H: Serbs, Croats Reach Agreement on POW Release

LD2603141696 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1253 GMT 26 Mar 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Sarajevo, 26 Mar (SRNA)—Momcilo Krajisnik, president of the People's Assembly of the [Bosnian] Serb Republic, and [Croat-Muslim] Federation President Kresimir Zubak reached an agreement in Pale today on the release of all POW's held by the Serb and Croat sides.

Speaker Krajisnik told SRNA that the agreement covers all Serb and Croat POW's imprisoned in Herzeg-Bosnia, Croatia, and the Serb Republic.

The meeting today, convened to look into ways of implementing the Geneva and Moscow agreements providing for the release of all POW's, was a continuation of the contacts in Moscow on Saturday between Aleksa

Buha and Mate Granic, the Serb Republic and Croatian foreign ministers, respectively.

According to Krajisnik, the POW issue is "exceptionally complicated because of discrepancies in the lists of names, and especially because there is not enough information about the Serb Republic soldiers held in prisons in Croatia." [passage omitted]

The president of the People's Assembly announced that an internationally mediated meeting will be held shortly with representatives of the Muslim side to raise the issue of the Serbs held in Muslim prisons and their release.

In Krajisnik's view, this issue has become rather complicated because of Muslim attempts "at their own initiative to declare a number of Serbs war criminals" and their refusal to give the go-ahead for the release of all POW's.

The meeting today was attended by Serb Republic Foreign Minister Aleksa Buha and the chairmen of the Serb and Croat commissions for the exchange of POW's.

B-H: Croat-Muslim Tensions Reported in Srednja Omaljska

LD2503193396 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 25 Mar 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] At about 0900 this morning, Muslim police patrols attempted to enter the Croat village of Srednja Omaljska but were prevented by the Usora police administration forces. However, following a mediation effort by the UN international police force, the two sides reached an agreement to withdraw their forces, the Usora police administration has announced.

According to the same source, signs appeared on the main Jelak-Zabljak road this morning with slogans such as Iran-BH; down with the Christians; Salaam Iran; Down with the Devil, etc. [passage omitted]

B-H: Talks Open Over Control of Villages in Northeast

AU2603112996 Paris AFP in English 1115 GMT 26 Mar 96

[By Kevin McElderry]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Tuzla, Bosnia-Hercegovina, March 26 (AFP)—Top-level talks are underway which could lead to a swap of several Muslim and Serb villages in northeast Bosnia, a spokesman for High Representative Carl Bildt said Tuesday.

The future of six Muslim villages placed under Serb control by the Dayton accord has been raised by Bildt's principal deputy Michael Steiner with Serb authorities in Pale, Duncan Bullivant said.

It could lead to horse-trading in return for Serb-dominated villages in the same region, he added, but he insisted talks were still at a very early stage and nothing specific had been agreed.

Acting Bosnian president Ejup Ganic met representatives of the villages Monday, urging them not to leave their homes and pledging to monitor their plight.

The villages include Kovacevici, Nezuk and Zaseok, whose residents vowed to AFP that they would stay come what may when Serb police eventually moved in to take control.

Bullivant said Steiner had spoken to Serb leaders about the villages and "They appear happy to horse-trade over the issue."

"Maybe some villages will remain in the federation," he added. "If people want to stay they (the Serbs) say they are happy with that, but whether that happens is another matter."

He said Pale "made references to some villages which they want. There is no rock-solid view on things, which bodes well, but there has been nothing specific so far."

Talks on the villages had been pushed into the background in recent days by the issue of prisoner releases but would gather pace over the following week, he added.

Villagers in Kovacevici and Zaseok told AFP Sunday that they feared they would be forced out to make room for Serb refugees from Sarajevo. They were also worried about Serb police and freedom of movement.

The other four villages are Handzalici, Nezuk, Selimovici and Viti Nici. All six are in the Serb-held municipality of Zvornik.

None of the Serb villages has been specifically named so far, but are in the same region, Bullivant said.

Ganic told village leaders not to abandon their homes, according to the Bosnian daily Dnevni Zvaz Tuesday, but he appeared less optimistic about the chances of an exchanges.

"We will stay with you. Don't leave your homes. We will be here all the time and we will monitor what goes on. You can count on our help and you will have it," he said.

"We will not leave you or forget you. We will help you and if uncertainty exists ahead, we will be behind you."

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He said Bosnian authorities offered to swap "village for village, field for field...but they don't want it."

"They are trying to blackmail us, ask for 20 times as much. They ask for things even you would not accept. Simply, they want to force you out and to occupy this area."

UN High Commissioner for Refugees officials in Tuzla said Serb police had twice postponed visits to the villages, but said that observers who spoke to Serb authorities in Zvornik believe they fully intend to take control.

B-H: Serbs Refuse To Attend Meeting With Muslims

LD2603101396 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 0853 GMT 26 Mar 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Doboj, 26 Mar (SRNA)—The Serb side will not take part in a meeting of the presidents of Serb and Muslim municipalities from the areas of Teslic, Brcko, and Bijeljina and towns under the control of the Croat-Muslim federation. The meeting is scheduled for 1000 this morning at an IFOR [Implementation Force] checkpoint in Stanic Rijeka, near Doboj.

Drago Ljubicic, president of the Doboj municipal assembly, told SRNA that the Serb delegation will not attend the meeting because Brigadier General Finn Saermark Thomson, commander of the IFOR Nordic-Polish brigade, did not officially invite the Serb side to the meeting.

The meeting is expected to discuss refugees, freedom of movement, and regional economic cooperation between the [Bosnia] Serb Republic and the Croat-Muslim federation.

B-H: Bosniaks Visiting Ljubuski Expelled by Local Police

AU2503173096 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 25 Mar 96

[FBIS Translated Text] The limited freedom of movement in Bosnia-Herzegovina is causing ever greater concern for the UNHCR [UN High Commissioner for Refugees], UNHCR spokesman (Nils Ninberg) stated at a news conference in Sarajevo today. He drew upon the example of 40 Bosniaks, refugees from Ljubuski, who had arrived in their city to visit relatives and friends. (Ninberg) said this visit had been arranged with the local authorities in Ljubuski and representatives of the local police.

However, despite the agreement that a friendly welcome would be extended to the Bosniaks visiting Ljubuski, the whole group was expelled from the city on Saturday morning. Police went from house to house, picked up all the visitors, put them on a bus, and returned them to eastern Mostar, (Ninberg) said. He stated that the local police had accounted for this by their having been ordered to do so by the police from western Mostar.

The UNHCR condemns this action most severely. It is even more a reason for concern in view of the fact that the visit by the Bosniaks was arranged by the respective authorities. The possibility of visiting their former homes is of key importance for the restoration of mutual trust, (Ninberg) said, adding that this is a precondition for the refugees' return to their homes.

B-H: IFOR Spokesman on Removal of Air Defense Systems

AU2503174796 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 25 Mar 96

[FBIS Translated Text] The air defense systems of all parties in Bosnia-Herzegovina are being removed according to plan under the supervision of the multinational divisions, IFOR [Implementation Force] spokesman Major (Haybrook) stated today.

IFOR has identified more than 2,000 air defense systems that ought to be removed, and many of them have already been placed in depots. The remaining systems are supposed to be removed within 20 days, (Haybrook) pointed out.

According to him, a French soldier was seriously injured yesterday near Jablanica, and was flown back to France. (Haybrook) also informed correspondents of an incident near Bosanski Petrovac caused by a British soldier. He said the solider had destroyed a civilian car, without stating details on how the incident happened. The soldier was arrested, and the civilian secretary of IFOR visited the region to establish whether there are any grounds for compensation to be paid for the damaged property.

Speaking of IFOR's engagement in the civilian implementation of the Dayton accord, (Haybrook) pointed out that, after the expiration of the D+120 deadline, when the troops of all parties in Bosnia-Herzegovina will have withdrawn to barracks and when all the air defense systems are removed, IFOR troops will become much more engaged in civilian affairs.

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B-H: U.S. Seen Taking Over Civilian Aspect of Dayton

AU2603125296 Hanau NOVA BOSNA in Serbo-Croatian 23 Mar 96 p 2

[Commentary by I.P.: "Under the U.S. Baton"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Geneva summit was more than just an inventory of the Bosnia-Herzegovina peace agreement. The dynamics, the slow implementation, was not the issue, it was the essence that was discussed. This is the critical point of the peace process whose military part has been implemented, while the civilian part is lagging behind, even when concrete steps should be taken. Many things have happened in 90 days, but nothing that we did not know. NATO has confirmed its efficiency and superiority, Europe its confusion and sterility, and the official Bosnia-Herzegovina authorities their insufficient anticipation and initiative. U.S. General George Joulwan's announcement that he would be stepping up cooperation with Bildt's team within the next 30 days, means that the Implementation Force (meaning the United States) will be taking over the baton in the civilian sector. The timing, the way of convening, and even the results of the Geneva summit confirm this. The Americans are calling the shots and it seems that they are the only ones fully acquainted with the Bosnian scenario. The others, including the European allies and Russia, are following a faint trail. Geneva reaffirmed certain values and decisions made in Dayton. All points that constitute a threat were clearly identified: relations within the Federation, the election atmosphere, and cooperation with the The Hague Tribunal, all in that order. The international media have been writing lately about the increased danger of a division of Bosnia. The reinforced attempts at implementing the concept of ethnic territories have created an almost explosive atmosphere.

B-H: RS's Kasagic Interviewed on Future Prospects

AU2503171896 Belgrade VECERNJE NOVOSTI in Serbo-Croatian 18 Mar 96 p 6

[Report by Vanja Bulic on an interview with Rajko Kasagic, "prime minister" of the Bosnian Serb Republic; place and date of interview not given: "The Time for Clever Moves"—originally published by Belgrade DUGA]

[FBIS Translated Text] "We are not bothered by the joint state of Bosnia-Herzegovina, as the Serb Republic [RS] has at the same time a high degree of independence and is entitled to have special connections with other states.

"When I say this, I first of all mean Yugoslavia, but we will also develop good-neighborly relations with the Croatian-Muslim Federation," Rajko Kasagic, prime minister of the RS, said in a interview for DUGA, a large part of which we are publishing.

[DUGA] To what degree is such cooperation possible?

[Kasagic] We have already agreed to examine whether it would be possible to establish railroad traffic. Without cooperation with us and Yugoslavia, the Muslims cannot have a railroad connection with the East, in which they are mostly interested. They are interested in the railroad connection from Tuzla functioning in the direction of Belgrade and the port of Bar. And the Serb Republic cannot reach Belgrade if the railroad that runs through Tuzla is blocked. It is being established now how damaged the railroad is.

[DUGA] I am afraid that railroad would remind one of the Wild West in some parts as the wounds are still fresh.

[Kasagic] At the beginning only goods will be transported; passenger traffic would come later on.

[DUGA] How long will prospective passengers have to wait?

[Kasagic] Confidence in each other is returning. The Muslims are at the moment the least confident of all in a joint life. At the Human Rights Conference in Vienna their representative, Sead Hodzic, still claimed that aggression was being carried out against the Muslims in Bosnia. If this is the starting point for a renewal of confidence, it is not very likely that it will come to much. I admit that Hodzic did not say who carried out the aggression, but I assume he meant the Serbs. He said that the joint state would function with the condition that they had a majority. He spoke about the efforts to return to Bosnia of those who had emigrated to Turkey. Hodzic thinks that approximately 4 million Muslims will return to Bosnia. If we add 1.9 million Muslims to that number, we get the majority that could soon lead to the creation of a Muslim state.

Fear of Voting

[DUGA] Why would the people who already have a certain status in Turkey return to Bosnia?

[Kasagic] They would not return for good. They would have dual citizenship, which means they would have the right to vote in both Bosnia-Herzegovina and in Turkey. In that way they would gain full control, which would in turn lead to the emigration of the Serbs. The Croats would also leave.

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[DUGA] Where does the number of 4 million Muslims in exile come from?

[Kasagic] According to their calculations, approximately 1 million Muslims emigrated after World War II, and the number of 4 million was reached on their assumptions about the birth rate.

[DUGA] The Dayton agreement is beginning to be implemented under these circumstances....

[Kasagic] I will tell you without any political reservations that the Dayton agreement is the basis for permanent peace. It has recognized two entities—the Croatian-Muslim and the Serbian. This is the guarantee that we will not mix in the way we mixed in the past, as such mixtures have always led to war after a certain period of time. History shows us that with time, extremist powers that want war prevail on every side. Regarding the Croats, I have the impression—after numerous talks—that we have agreed on resuming good-neighborly relations without interfering in the internal matters of the other side.

[DUGA] What are the problems in connection with the implementation of the Dayton agreement in Bosnia?

[Kasagic] From the Serbian point of view there are no impediments to the implementation of the Dayton agreement stipulations. We have obtained 48.6 percent of the territory, although we are owners of 58 percent of the territory according to the real estate register. We are happy, despite that, first of all because there is peace now.

[DUGA] There is still something you are afraid of.

[Kasagic] We are afraid of the voting system. According to the Dayton agreement, every citizen who lived in a certain part of the territory until 1991, and now lives in another part, is entitled to vote in the part in which he lives now. Regardless of whether he participated in the war against the entity in whose territory he will vote. Who is to control such a voting system? It is quite certain that it will come to manipulations. Apart from that, we do not have any other problems.

A Way Out From the Dead End

[DUGA] What about Serb Sarajevo?

[Kasagic] This problem has been also solved, as the Serbs decided to move out.

[DUGA] All this time we have been speaking about a politically moderate government, which is led by you. The RS's political leadership that created the policy of war has not changed, however. How will political changes be made in the heads of these people, in other words, not only nominally?

[Kasagic] This policy has already changed. The Austrian ambassador told me in Sarajevo that the international politicians had realized that the present government brought about a political change. My presence at the Human Rights Conference in Vienna was noticed so that I was also received by the Austrian foreign minister. I invited him to come to the RS in order to continue the dialogue. It must be realized that a prime minister plays an important role in political life, too.

[DUGA] How will the world cooperate with Mr. Karadzic, Mrs. Plavsic, Mr. Krajisinik, and General Mladic if we know that they supported the war option and that some of them are on the list of war criminals issued by the Hague tribunal? It was said in Dayton that that generation of politicians was not entitled to participate in the elections. How does one get off that dead-end street?

[Kasagic] The National Assembly, the president of the state, and his assistants are in charge of policy, which is then carried out by the government. I know that the world does not want to cooperate with President Karadzic. This is an impediment; it disables the implementation of the policy in its entirety.

[DUGA] Earlier events have shown that the world has in this area carried out everything it wanted. Will the Serbian Republic be forced to sacrifice the generation of politicians that enabled it to become a state?

[Kasagic] It is true that according to the Dayton agreement Karadzic is not entitled to participate in the elections. If the SDS [Serbian Democratic Party] wins the elections, its chairman will have an important influence on the policy of the RS. Two years ago I wrote in GLAS SRPSKI that the Serbs had in their history always been forced to sacrifice someone. History is full of such examples. Someone is simply sacrificed and accused. Vuk Brankovic, Apis, General Nedic. I openly asked the question of who the Serbs would sacrifice in the years to come.

Threatening With Arrests

[DUGA] Which Serbs do you mean—those in Yugoslavia or those in the Serb Republic?

[Kasagic] I mean the Serbs in the Serb Republic.

[DUGA] Is the RS ready to do such a thing or will this be ordered by Yugoslavia?

[Kasagic] Serbia and Yugoslavia do not have to do anything with it. Everything depends on the relations of the world toward Bosnia-Herzegovina as everybody has realized that there is the danger from fundamentalism, which is being stopped in the Balkans by the Serbs and

the Croats, for the time being. That is why the Bosnian Muslims have not been allowed to become a separate entity. They think that the people who waged the war or, to be more precise, those who defended the Serbs from fundamentalism do not want to live together with the Muslims. We have to be clever now, as the world is trying to remove a generation of politicians, expecting a softer version that could cooperate with the Muslims. We have to open the door to the world, as they want to be our friends.

[DUGA] Gen. Djukic and Colonel Krsmanovic have been arrested. The United States of America informed the world that Karadzic was not arrested in Banja Luka because he was surrounded by bodyguards so that it could have come to a serious clash, but otherwise....

[Kasagic] When Mr. Karadzic left for Krajina, in order to regulate political relations, the threats that he would be arrested intensified, which means that his movement is limited as is, apart from that, the implementation of a unique policy in the RS. It is clear that is not pleasant to live with such threats, but I am sure that Karadzic will not be arrested.

[DUGA] How many people died in this war?

[Kasagic] A census has to be made in the RS. According to the information we presently have, 17,000 soldiers and 7,000 civilians died on the Serb side. This is unofficial information, however.

[DUGA] Not even in their own territory are the Serbs the most numerous armed force any longer. What is life under the military supervision of the international community like?

[Kasagic] There are 600,000 foreign soldiers in Bosnia now. Our army should be reduced to only 12,000 soldiers. The participants in the Rome meeting were informed by the commanders of the international forces that they had to be given freedom of movement over the entire territory of Bosnia, otherwise they would take it themselves.

[DUGA] Is this a threat?

[Kasagic] This is a warning. I think these really are peacekeeping forces. They do not support war. There is no such crazy person who would go to a foreign territory in order to wage a war. Why should they want to die here?

Capital

[DUGA] Where will the RS's capital be?

[Kasagic] According to the Constitution this should be Serb Sarajevo, which means that our capital does not lie in our territory according to the present Constitution! I read in NIN the statement by a Sarajevo professor, who now teaches in Zvornik, who said: "If Sarajevo is not our capital, the RS does not need to have a capital!" This is senseless. There was the thesis that the Serb capital should lie next to the largest Muslim town. I cannot accept the thesis that the capital should be a village only because it lies next to the largest Muslim town. Pale was the capital during the war. The capital must be where the most qualified people live. That is Banja Luka. From the strategic point of view, it is also good that the capital be the westernmost point, as the Brcko problem has not been resolved yet. I think that this will be solved this month, after the Constitution of the RS is harmonized with the Constitution of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Elections

[DUGA] When will the next elections be held?

[Kasagic] In August 1996, and the deadline is 14 September.

[DUGA] Will Radovan Karadzic participate in the election?

[Kasagic] This is up to the SDS to decide.

[DUGA] What are the chances for the Socialist Party of the Serbian Republic?

[Kasagic] This is one of 26 parties registered in the Serb Republic. I think that the Socialist Party of the Serb Republic is, apart from the Serbian Democratic Party, the most serious political organization of the Bosnian Serbs.

B-H: Kasagic, IFOR Commander Discuss Dayton Accord

LD2603134396 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1242 GMT 26 Mar 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo, 26 Mar (SRNA)—Rajko Kasagic, prime minister of the [Bosnian] Serb Republic [RS], discussed implementation of the Dayton Agreement with Admiral Leighton Smith, commander of the IFOR [Implementation Force] for former Bosnia-Herzegovina, in Pale today.

"We discussed certain problems registered by IFOR, problems regarding the activities of the [Bosnian Serb] police in the territory of the RS," Kasagic said after the meeting, and added that IFOR believes that certain [Bosnian Serb] police checkpoints should be removed.

"It was also pointed out that the Serb police are in possession of artillery weapons which should be stored in barracks after 19 April," Kasagic said. According to Kasagic, the need to secure the unhindered work of

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international agencies investigating the possible sites of mass graves was also pointed out.

"We said that we wanted this problem to be resolved in the whole of former Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia," Kasagic said. According to Smith, IFOR activities will be aimed at securing freedom of movement and particularly at carrying out elections in the RS and the Muslim-Croat Federation.

B-H: Serb Foreign Minister Comments on Moscow Talks

LD2303234396 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 2228 GMT 23 Mar 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Moscow, 23 Mar (SRNA)—Aleksa Buha, foreign minister of the Serb Republic, told SRNA this evening that the question of equal treatment of the Serb Republic and the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation was raised at today's meeting of the Contact Group ministers in Moscow.

"It has been agreed that punitive measures will be taken against the sides that do not respect the undertaken commitments," Buha said and added that this applied primarily to the Muslim side, which is more than two months late with the agreed release of POW's.

He mentioned that the Contact Group empowered the High Representative of the international community, Carl Bildt, to deal with the release of the remainder of POW's.

"At the moment there are still 280 Serbs in Muslim prisons. We do not know their names and their number is probably even larger as several more people have been arrested in parts of Serb Sarajevo in the meantime," the foreign minister said.

According to Buha, "We discussed the forthcoming elections, too, and we stressed the need to organize them as soon as possible, perhaps before the planned deadline—September of this year."

"We have also pointed at difficulties in temporary electoral regulations which envisage that people should vote in the municipality in which they were registered before the war broke out. This could only mean a new migration of people," Buha warned and expressed his hope that the Contact Group members would be more flexible in this respect.

Minister Buha said that the issue of the territorial delineation was also defined in more detail. The Serb Republic representatives demanded that the delineation be carried out fully and, in particular, in the sectors that are contestable for the Serb side.

He explained that there were disagreements in the delineation which had arisen through the transfer of boundaries from the Dayton map, which is in the 1:600,000 scale, to the map in the 1:50,000 scale which was signed in Paris.

"There have also been warnings about the elements of the implementation of the Dayton agreement which are lagging, such as the adjustment of the constitutions of the Serb Republic and the Croat-Muslim federation [Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation] to the constitution of the future Bosnia-Herzegovina," Buha said and added that a lot of discussion focused on the crisis of the Croat-Muslim federation.

"It is especially interesting that this conference was chaired by Russian Foreign Minister Primakov, in whom Russia has got a true representative," Buha said in conclusion.

B-H: Gen Gvero Views IFOR Presence, Karadzic

AU2503164396 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 18 Mar 96 pp 8-9

[Interview with General Milan Gvero, assistant to the commander of the General Staff of the Army of the Serb Republic, by Tanja Jeremic in Han Pijesak; date not given: "We Were Never a Putschist Army"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] *In a recent interview made in Han Pijesak, General Milan Gvero, assistant to the commander of the General Staff of the Serb Republic Army, said: "I would not accept us being a foreign legion even if I were drunk."*

He said he joined the fighting because he believed, and still believes, that this is a defensive war of the Serb nation. Now he says that he would like to retire.

[Jeremic] Mr. General, how is the Army of the Serb Republic handling the presence of the IFOR [Implementation Force] forces? Are you satisfied with the cooperation with them, or do you perhaps think it would be better if no foreign forces were in this area?

[Gvero] The Serb Republic Army has accepted IFOR as something unavoidable, as a force that can contribute seriously to the securing of peace in the area during their stay here. We are certain that they could fulfill the prerequisites for this peace to be maintained in the long term. It would undoubtedly be better if there were no foreign military forces in our areas; however, this is the reality. Moreover, it was about time that, in the interest of all nations, the military actions ended and that the peace process began. We have cooperated well, which is what they have stressed clearly.

[Jeremic] This cooperation was discontinued after the arrests of Gen. Djordje Djukic and Colonel Aleksa Krsmanovic.

[Gvero] We are not to blame for the discontinuation of the increasing trend of useful cooperation—they are. They caused that by kidnapping Gen. Djukic and Col. Krsmanovic, as well as a large number of soldiers. I emphasize, kidnapped, from a dividing zone in which IFOR itself is responsible for security. The kidnapping of Gen. Djukic, as well as IFOR's open cooperation with the Muslims on this matter, influenced our decision to discontinue our cooperation with IFOR as a proven partial force, partial to the benefit of the Muslims and the Croats. However, the entirety of the later political elements and relations (I will not say pressures) has brought us to the point where our cooperation with IFOR is being normalized in all aspects. We insisted that this cooperation must be in full accordance, down to the details, with the signed peace treaty.

[Jeremic] What stage have you reached so far in the cooperation with IFOR?

[Gvero] The cooperation is currently developing according to the dynamics of the peace treaty. On the basis of our communication at all levels and the calendar that has been derived from it, we are fulfilling our military obligations. We are currently finishing our obligations that were foreseen for D+90 of the calendar. The next step will be the obligations that were agreed for D+20 [as published]. There have been practically no comments from their side regarding us not fulfilling our obligations, and we consider this to be proof of our cooperation and our relations toward peace in our area, because we do not wish to endanger the development of the peace process and its stability in any way.

[Jeremic] What do you mean when you talk about the expansion of IFOR's mandate? Do you mean the current questions of war crimes, IFOR's role in eventual arrests, or the securing of the refugees' return?

[Gvero] I mean all aspects of IFOR activity. The prerequisite for a successful fulfillment of IFOR's role would be for it to show absolutely equal treatment of and have absolutely equal relations with all the forces in the conflict. This would also apply if IFOR's authority were increased. On the basis of some indications, the decision to give IFOR authority may be some kind of excuse for IFOR to fulfill its duties only in regards toward one side, the Serb side. This may be detrimental to the peace process. This, without considering the consequences it might bring, would really prevent IFOR from fulfilling its role.

[Jeremic] If it does go so far, do you think it may lead to a renewal of military conflict in former Bosnia-Herzegovina?

[Gvero] We do not want a renewal of military conflict. Just as we did not decide whether the war would begin or not, we cannot determine whether it will come to a renewal of the conflict or not. If a conflict is imposed upon us, we will have to respond to it. The people will have to defend themselves, but we will not do anything to cause a conflict. We, as an army and a people, need peace, and I believe that peace is in the interests of all the peoples in this area as well as beyond.

[Jeremic] Will the organization of the army remain based on the concept of an "armed nation" or will it essentially change, let us say, to a professional army?

[Gvero] The changes do not relate only to the military aspect, but to the entire military organization and the concept of defense. Undoubtedly, the orientation toward a professional army is good, but it is conditioned by many factors, the material possibilities among others. I hope that at the same time as the material situation improves, the possibilities will be created for completely realizing the existing concept of organization. Until then, the issue of defense must be resolved. [passage omitted]

[Jeremic] Is it true that a certain number of Muslims and Croats exist within the structure of the IFOR units? There are, according to some unofficial information—to be precise, some Serb witnesses have reported recognizing their neighbors, Muslims and Croats. Do you have such information?

[Gvero] I would not dismiss the fact that members of other nationalities from the area of former Yugoslavia are within the IFOR structure regarding to its formation—primarily on a material basis. I do not know the extent of this, but I can tell you that, in official talks during the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] period, I often encountered people with whom I could communicate in Serbian. I do not know how widespread this is, but I find it understandable and in a way logical that these people exist and that many do not show themselves in public. [passage omitted]

[Jeremic] Mr. General, how would you describe your relations with Mr. Radovan Karadzic?

[Gvero] Taking into consideration the lack of state, military, and political experience, both personally and as a member of the General Staff, I have continued to give certain suggestions as to how certain matters should be taken care of. That is how our relations were at the beginning of the war. He often invoked the formal authority of a head of state, and I am one of those people

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who never accepts formal authority to be the definite judge, because when I am convinced of something and I know I am right, I insist on my position.

I never liked his or others' negative attitude toward the officers. They also never missed the opportunity to call them very bad names, although they were aware that this conflict was led by these officers professionally, militarily, organizationally, and by command. They were also aware that this was a war in which most of the officers died, were wounded, or lost limbs. In terms of percentages, in comparison with other wars, this war had the greatest number of fallen officers. This negative attitude toward the military leaders and the entire army and the relative indifference gave way to our insistence that the country must take care of these problems and that this is its duty. We never wanted to be a putschist army, we wanted to show by our arguments that some things could be done.

Then came confrontations. For a long time, Karadzic thought that Gen. Ratko Mladic had to be replaced, and he said so publicly, without consulting us or talking to us.

B-H: Lawyers Ask Hague Tribunal To Release Serb General

AU2503192996 Paris AFP in English 1852 GMT 25 Mar 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The Hague, March 25 (AFP)—Lawyers for Serb General Djordje Djukic, detained in a UN jail here on war crimes charges, have asked for his release, sources at the International Criminal Tribunal here said Monday [25 March].

Djukic, who was in charge of logistics for the Bosnian Serb Army, was charged by the tribunal on February 29 for crimes against humanity and violation of the laws and customs of war for his alleged role in the Serb shelling of Sarajevo from May 1992 to December 1995.

Lawyers Milan Vujin and Toma Fila, both from the Belgrade bar, said the tribunal's prosecutor had not supplied any proof of war crimes by Djukic and that there was no reason to detain him.

The lawyers also said Djukic was in bad health.

They said their client gave his word of honor as an officer that once released he would appear before the tribunal when asked.

The court did not say when it would examine the request to release Djukic.

In other business, the court put off until next Monday an audience originally set for this Friday on the case of Croat General Tihomir Blaskic, who is charged with war crimes, officials in Zagreb said Monday.

Blaskic has promised to surrender himself to the Hague-based tribunal, and his lawyer Zvonimir Hodak was quoted in the Zagreb press Sunday as saying his client would do so on Friday.

Hodak wants his client to be placed under house arrest in The Hague, rather than be held in prison.

Blaskic and five other Croatians were charged on November 13 of last year of taking part in the massacre of hundreds of Moslem civilians on April 18, 1993 in the village of Ahmici in central Bosnia.

Blaskic, 35, was chief of staff for the Bosnian Croat army until his indictment by the international tribunal.

Also this week, the court is to examine on Friday a demand by lawyers for Serb Colonel Aleksa Krsmanovic to clarify the status of their client, tribunal spokesman Christian Chartier said.

Krsmanovic has been in the UN jail at The Hague since February 12, after being arrested with Djukic in Sarajevo on Janaury 30 by Bosnian authorities and then being transferred to the Netherlands. Krsmanovic has not been charged. His detention has been extended until April 4, in accordance with Bosnian law.

The tribunal will have to hand him over to authorities from the Moslem-Croat federation by this date if it does not charge him with war crimes.

Krsmanovic's lawyer said his client had told the tribunal prosecutor that he "would not cooperate in any investigations" and would not testify.

B-H: Republika Srpska Economy Slowly Recovering

LD2503130396 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1144 GMT 25 Mar 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Banja Luka, Mar. 25 (TANJUG)—Vice president of the Republika Srpska Chamber of Commerce Svetislav Mudrenovic said on Monday that the economy was reviving in the Bosnian Serb entity, thanks to the peace accord signed late last year.

Mudrenovic said cooperation had been renewed between the Cajavec electronic industry from Banja Luka with the television factory in Orovo, Slovakia, with Ericsson from Sweden and Samsung from Korea, deliveries agreed of electrical auto-equipment for Zastava from Serbia and electronic equipment for the Serbian electric industry.

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The production firm Jelsingrad from Banja Luka is negotiating with the firm Radoje Dakic of Podgorica, Montenegro, on establishing a joint firm.

The firm has struck deals with former partners abroad on the delivery of machines, said Mudrenovic, adding that the flow of goods to Yugoslavia was becoming faster.

He said the Bosnian Serb government with its 2200 developmental programs was competing for a promised 1.4 million dollars, the amount it could count on from the total sum the international community had allotted for the reconstruction of Bosnia.

In addition to this, said Mudrenovic, firms from Italy, Austria, Germany, Greece, Bulgaria and Cyprus were interested in investments in Republika Srpska.

He said he expected that air links and railways between Banja Luka and Belgrade would be established by the end of April.

B-H: E. Slavonia Serbs Receive EU Aid Delegation

AU2603091096 Beli Manastir Srpska Televizija in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 20 Mar 95

[FBIS Translated Text] President of the executive council of the Beli Manastir municipal assembly, Vasa Zigic, received an EU delegation for economic aid to the Srem-Baranja province today. The topics of discussion were the specific aid that the international community should be providing, as well as the economic reconstruction on the basis of the Erdut Agreement.

The three-member EU delegation for economic aid to the Srem-Baranja province, headed by Mr. (?Antonin Klum), talked to the president of the executive council of the Beli Manastir municipal assembly, Vasa Zigic. After the meeting with the president of the municipal government, we asked Mr. (?Klum) to say a few words about the aims and the results of the visit:

[Begin recording] [(?Klum); superimposed announcer-read translation into Serbo-Croatian] The reason for our visit to Beli Manastir is very simple—we are here to explain our mission and offer cooperation, to express our readiness to help with the reconstruction program for Sector East in various economic spheres, particularly agriculture.

It is my opinion that our visit was very useful.

[Unidentified official (?Zigic)] We discussed specific problems, as well as models of investment and [word indistinct] programs.

We will reach specific agreements on Friday (?within) the management of the Belje holding company. We will present all the specific models they asked for, and clarify our position, which is that the cooperation will take place between our [word indistinct] agents and the UNTAES [UN Transitional Administration for Eastern Slavonia] representatives, that is, the representatives of European and international economic corporations. Within that framework, we will [word indistinct] the specific funds necessary for production materials and other materials, and the programs for [words indistinct].

They are willing to invest in fast programs that will facilitate enough [word indistinct] and employment as well as take into account their own interests [words indistinct].

[Unidentified correspondent] Is this visit a certain indication of a happier time for the people in this area?

[(?Zigic)] This visit is the result of the previous meetings we had with Mr. Fisher and Mr. Klein concerning the reconstruction and development program—that is, I would say, the consolidation and revitalization of the economy and the social services in the Beli Manastir municipality. As you know, the program has been put together and revised within that context, and it should be finished on Friday.

This program will be offered to the UNTAES and [words indistinct]. I think that if the resolution and the agreement provisions concerning the economy as well as the UN obligation to economically revitalize this area are strictly implemented, there will certainly be more room for us to establish that the employment rate will be higher and that the standard of living of the people in the area will improve. [end recording]

B-H: Bozic Says Serb Police, Paramilitary Attack Rally

AU2503152996 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 25 Mar 96

[FBIS Translated Text] The Socialist Party of the Serb Republic [in Bosnia-Herzegovina] is exposed to daily threats and attacks. This was said at the news conference by party chairman Dragutin Ilic.

Branislav Bozic reports:

[Bozic] The reason for the news conference was yesterday's attack on the activists and the rally of the Socialist Party in the village of Blatnica near Teslic. According to Ilic, the rally was interrupted at the very start, and when attempts were made to create normal conditions for the gathering the Socialist activists were attacked by police members and members of a paramilitary formation that calls itself The Branded [zigosani]. According to Ilic, the attack was carried out with tear gas and fists by Zdravko Vukovic, member of the state security from Doboj; Predrag Markocevic, chief of the police station

in Teslic; and Zdravko Trivunovic, former military police member who was expelled from the military police some time ago. They were also threatening the rally with automatic guns. They were accompanied by a group of unidentified armed men. The Socialists' rally was broken up, and Vojko Pozderovic, member of the Teslic Socialist Party Committee, sustained injuries and was taken to the Banja Luka surgical department. Other Socialist Party members also sustained injuries, Ilic said, stressing that this was the third attack in Teslic on people from the Socialist Party, and that similar things were happening in other towns in the Serb Republic.

As he said, the authorities in [Bosanski] Samac had banned all communes from leasing facilities for Socialists' meetings, in Prnjavor the building in which the wife of Zivojin Kuzmanovic worked was mined. He is also in this party's leadership. The Socialists cannot get facilities in Sokolac.

All this has a lot to do with the coming elections since they want to intimidate us, Ilic said today, and scheduled an extraordinary session of the Executive Committee of the Socialist Party of the Serb Republic for tomorrow in Banja Luka. After the session they will brief Radovan Karadzic, the Serb Republic Government, the interior ministry, and the OSCE officials who are in charge of the elections on all this.

B-H: Gen Simic Views Mladic, Postwar Issues

96BA0166A Belgrade INTERVJU in Serbo-Croatian 19 Jan 96 pp 18-20

[Interview with General Novica Simic, commander of the VRS East Bosnian Corps, by Slavica Jovovic; place and date not given: "Generals After the War: I'm Not Pushing for Mladic's Position"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *Up until recently Serbs have praised General Mladic to the heavens, but now anyone who wishes to kicks him around. He was sick, and he left the hospital without recovering and went to the front, where he has always been on the front line. Now he has withdrawn a little to heal his wounds and to be treated, and not because he is afraid that someone will capture him and send him, as a war criminal, to The Hague.*

General Novica Simic, commander of the VRS [Army of the Republic of Serbia] East Bosnian Corps, is from Eastern Bosnia by birth, from Milic, from which he went while still a child to Sarajevo. In Sarajevo he completed primary and secondary school and went to Belgrade Military Academy.

"I loved that calling. My section in the Second Sarajevo Gymnasium, with a specialty in mathematics, went mainly into medicine, including my wife. Some went into physics and chemistry; only I went to the military academy. Later, when I met our favorite teacher of our mother tongue, she asked me—'Man, where are you? I don't see you.' I said, 'In Belgrade at the academy.' 'Great,' she said. 'Which section have you taken? Didn't you take acting?' 'I didn't,' I said. 'I took tanks.' She almost fainted.

"I worked mainly throughout Bosnia and I thought I would retire and not learn what war is.

"I don't like war and I have always said—I hope whoever wants war has fought with his mother-in-law.

"At the beginning as well as at the end of each war, including this one, is politics. The army is only a mechanism that carries it out for the benefit of politics. The war found me in the service in Banja Luka. Back in 1991 I went to Plitvice in the role of barrier zone and for securing an MUP [Ministry of Internal Affairs] station. I was sandwiched in. We around the MUP station, and Martic and his troops around us. They yelled at us then—traitors, Ustashi, and whoever else, although we had the Yugoslav flag on each truck and tank. Looking at all this, I saw clearly that we no longer had a life in common. At the same time I became a Chetnik for some, an Ustashi for others. I saw how the concept of Yugoslavia was being destroyed, and it was clear to me that I was helping out with this a little.

"For a while I was in Banija. In Okucani we prevented genocide against Serbian people. I participated then in breaching the corridor. After this they told me—when you have done it—now take care of it, and in this way I was assigned to duty as commander of the East Bosnian Corps. So one of my main missions was maintaining the corridor."

My Comrades Became My Enemies

"If I had known that the war would be waged this way, no one could have forced me into military school for any amount of money. First of all, this is a civil war: I am fighting against my former colleagues and friends. I had friends from school among both Croats and Muslims. For example, at negotiations in Pakrac, I met with Colonel Josip Tosic, commander of the Bjelovar Brigade, whom I know from the military academy. Do I hate one from the other side?! He is my adversary, I fight against him, but personally I cannot hate him. I also met Anta Franic at the negotiations. We were once company commanders at the Viktor Bubanj caserne in Sarajevo. And then all at once we became adversaries, enemies. Here, in captivity, I found a former colleague of mine, Colonel Zarko Tolet, who also worked with us in the Viktor Bubanj caserne. That Zarko went astray, going to Vares, ran into Kupres through our lines, and our

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people took him prisoner. He was terribly depressed; he wanted to kill himself. I visited him and spoke with him. I brought him letters to write to his family. Later, when he had changed, he gave an interview to SLOBODNA DALMACIJA and spoke about me very correctly."

[Jovovic] You said this was a civil war. Can one speak about elements of a religious war in it?

[Simic] When places of worship are destroyed and graves with religious markings are desecrated, then it is certainly a religious war. There have been a number of religious ingredients, and I think that the Vatican held the threads here.

We have waged war under very difficult circumstances. First of all, we have constantly had to prove that we do not have revolutionary intentions, that we are not communists, and that we are a national army. Secondly, we have constantly been in conditions of shortages of fuel, ammunition, and modern equipment. NATO could not fly and bomb that way. If we had modern systems, we would take them down. That's not taken note of anywhere in the world; we are forbidden to fly, and they have been flying and training for two years. For example, I have defended a relay station for the whole war and redefended it, and they then completely destroyed it and gave it to them. It's as if you're killing yourself with worry. When we captured Croatian soldiers we found two ID's on all of them, one for membership in the Croatian Army and the other in the HVO [Croatian Defense Council]. Except for that they had the same uniforms and the same insignia. This is open proof that the Croatian Army waged war in Bosnia and that a man in the HVO sentenced to war crimes was placed in a function in the Croatian Army.

Between Mladic and Karadzic

[Jovovic] What has the relationship been between political and military powers in the Republic of Serbia during the war?

[Simic] This has also had quite a few negative repercussions. We commanders agreed that this should not be allowed to reflect on the units. If we had begun to explain who was for Karadzic and who for Mladic, our army would have been completely disarranged. The Army has been unjustly accused most often. All during the war the soldier has been on the margin, attention has been paid to him the least, he has received the least materially, and he has given everything of himself. I am one of those generals who gave support to General Mladic, and I'm not repentant about it. I am afraid that is some scenario concocted from somewhere outside. I am convinced that, if the decisions had stood, it would have inevitably led to the breakup of the Army and, because of that, I signed the protest letter to President Karadzic; it is a fortunate circumstance that he enabled the forces to revoke their decision later.

[Jovovic] Have these misunderstandings existed all during the war?

[Simic] It has varied, a mixture—a series of calm moments, then a series of some excesses.

[Jovovic] It seems that the political leadership of the RS [Republic of Serbia] has had a somewhat different, not to say better relationship toward MUP units.

[Simic] Whenever MUP units participated in actions in my zone, I did not separate them from my units in any way. When they deserved, it I praised them, and when they didn't perform as they should, I was critical. Was there a different relationship with the government there? In the corridors I heard an explanation—the police never carried out a state attack, and the Army has. The police have always been in a materially more favorable position than we, perhaps because there are fewer of them and they were more resourceful. Perhaps they have been privileged, by the nature of their job. I wouldn't want to make a mistake about those colleagues of ours who waged war like us. As to whether Dad was more generous with them is another matter; perhaps they were more sweet.

Mladic's Tragedy

[Jovovic] What can you say about the recent battles in which the cities in the Bosnian Krajina fell, and what really happened there with General Mladic?

[Simic] I think the speculation about Mladic is not honest. He was ill, he left the hospital without having fully recovered, and he was at the front. Regardless of where he was, he was the commander, and that was not in dispute even for a moment.

As far as the loss of territory is concerned, I am personally of the opinion that it was already prepared earlier according to a global plan, and we only played the losers in a drama, unwillingly to be sure, but we played them. With the fall of the Knin Krajina, a huge new front opened for us without being planned, which it was necessary to reinforce militarily. In addition, the offensive on Sarajevo continued; at the same time there was an attack on Ozren, an attack on Majevica, and the corridor was constantly under siege. NATO supported Croatia, even by arming them. Divisions between the leadership and the military powers had a very harmful effect on the morale of the fighters, as well as on those many columns of refugees who streamed through the Krajina.

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[Jovovic] If all that was agreed upon in advance, why didn't it turn out differently, so that people didn't die?

[Simic] That's the most difficult of all for me. The Army knows both withdrawal and retreat as a combat operation. Unfortunately this was not possible. We didn't know what would follow because no one told us that. The Army did everything it could but could not defend itself. It's no shame to say that you lost to a superior force. It is easier for the soul to say—one person or another betrayed us. These stories, at least within the Army, have no basis. There were perhaps individual cases of lack of resourcefulness in this uproar, lack of information, perhaps even cowardice. I don't believe there was betrayal. Moreover, it's easy to investigate that in the Army with a commission.

We Had To Lose What They Took Away From Us at the Table

[Jovovic] And with politicians?

[Simic] That will never be established. When somebody works something like that out, he usually becomes an ambassador.

[Jovovic] Did the war end favorably, in your opinion, unfavorably, or realistically?

[Simic] The war ended exactly the way they decided. If they had decided it a year earlier, they could have done the same thing. I remember when a minister of foreign affairs asked his ambassador, "How much longer can Serbs in Bosnia hold out?" And the latter said, "They're tough, they can hold out for another year." "Oh, too long," he says. "We must still squeeze them." It is evident that we were sentenced to 49 percent within global frameworks, and it had to be worked out that way.

[Jovovic] Are you satisfied with what is bringing peace?

[Simic] In this war there are no winners. It's an illusion that someone won. In this war everyone lost. We all lost because we have waged war at the dawn of the 21st century like tribes in Africa. The world is uniting and we are breaking up. That is our tragedy. I am certain that our future generations will experience some reintegration in these areas. Have we realized the goals of the war? First of all, we didn't want to be a minority, to be directed by others. We sought to set up borders with them. It didn't work, and we had to go to war. Now we have set up borders with them. Secondly, we saved our people from the genocide that threatened them. Moreover, this war was waged without an ally, with many political problems. Are we satisfied with the territory that we gained? We can never be satisfied. It was difficult to draw borders with that 49 percent. Who could give away Drvar, which was a Serbian city for centuries. Purely Serbian.

[Jovovic] How do you view possibilities of cooperation with the Muslim-Croat federation, and how will the Army act in all that?

[Simic] Cooperation with the federation will be political. I will personally go to all talks and negotiations that are part of the function of peace. Only I will not agree to accept dictates. According to this, everyone on his side in that loose federation. Everything is calming down slowly; there are no incidents now. Every soldier has had a capful of fighting, Muslim and Croat and Serb. While the Americans are here there will be no incidents. When they leave, great decisions will follow. I wouldn't want to be a prophet. I am an optimist by nature, but I can view the dangers that will follow. This does not depend only on the Serbian side. We can be for peace as long as we want, but if they attack us there is no more theory.

Serbs Let Water Into the Sava

[Jovovic] You have already had some contacts and meetings with representatives "of forces for establishing peace"; how is all that proceeding?

[Simic] They're a little behind, and even now they don't have it in hand. For example, they had made a pontoon bridge in Orasje, and then the Sava rose by 2 meters and everything fell into the water. I made a joke and told them—the Serbs let in the water. And they said: We will now make three bridges, and I then said—make a bridge for every water level. Otherwise we must cooperate, as the agreement that was signed obligates us to do. They have great rights and authority, far greater than would be expected for such matters. They have unlimited freedom of movement, on the ground and in the air and on the water, even to carry out controls with part of their own police forces. I said that, under such conditions, we must uphold the dignity of the Army, and not make enemies of them. For now they are behaving correctly. Contacts are at the corps level for now. Perhaps there will be some problems with neutralizing minefields because of snow and precipitation. I have contacted Mr. Nash, and we easily found a common language. I told him that his troops are not behaving like cowboys, since we are perhaps bigger cowboys than they. Then I told him that they are coming with a negative image since, with the bombing, they aided our enemy. He agreed and promised that all three sides would have the same treatment with him. I think he will have to listen carefully to politics a little. That is a terrible burden for us soldiers. We are clumsy in politics. We know what is what, and when we say something we say what is.

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With politicians it's like a joke. When a lady says "no," she means "perhaps." When she says "perhaps," she means "yes." When she says "yes," she is not a lady. When a politician says "perhaps," he means "no." If he says, "no," then he is not a good politician.

In The Hague It Is Easy To Become a Criminal

[Jovovic] How do you view the possibility that General Mladic will be sentenced in The Hague for war crimes?

[Simic] I think that it was stupidity to proclaim criminals a president of a state and an army commander. That only had its political objective in negotiations, a maneuver for them to be excluded from direct negotiations.

[Jovovic] Because of the interpretation of one of the additions to the peace agreement, according to which they will have the right to arrest anyone they meet who is suspected of war crimes, General Mladic has long been avoiding being seen in some places?

[Simic] General Mladic is in poor health. He was never afraid of going in front of the Army whenever it went on the attack. He is in no way afraid even now, and I think it would be a precedent if they try to arrest him. They will refrain from those charges, since they have already achieved their purpose. If it is a political game—it's not honest; he is only a soldier.

[Jovovic] Mr. Karadzic is a politician, and he has the same problem.

[Simic] Karadzic is carrying out his functions without interference. One day he was in Brcko, and there were also those observers there and they didn't come to arrest him. I think that's funny. Moreover, generals can arrest generals, but not soldiers. All of that is sadder than funny, and without precedent. Moreover, where that list is, perhaps I am also on it, so I don't go to meetings.

[Jovovic] They'll let you know.

[Simic] Where is the list of Muslim and Croat criminals, or is that court in The Hague only after Serbs? Why don't they publish the lists that the Serbs delivered to them? That is gloomy and sad that the world can be so one-sided.

[Jovovic] What will you do with the people who were at the front, who should return home? They are without work or an education....

[Simic] For all those systems that are beginning to work, a certain number of men are being withdrawn from the front. The Army does not have the right to involve itself in the economy, employment, but we have assumed the task of concerning ourselves constantly,through veterans organizations called "Union of Participants in the War," with where and how everyone will be employed. A veteran who fought for four years should not have the same treatment as some returnee who is now returning but fled at the beginning. A veteran must have priority. We will have a big problem with socialization. We have four generations of young people, some of whom know nothing other than how to wage war. They have completed secondary school, they have never worked because they went into the war right away. There are also men who interrupted their schooling.

The most difficult category is war invalids for whom we must find something suitable for their options for work. Not only are finances in question, but also their will to live, their self-respect, their place in society, and the like. One of your colleagues asked me what generals do after war. I said chop wood.

Generals Will Chop Wood After the War

Some will go into retirement, especially those in their later years, some will remain in the Army, perhaps others will go into other government services. Perhaps some will undergo retraining. Everything depends on how much army we will have. I think that the Army will explore ways to help those who leave it. Military persons are people taught in order and work, and in their situation they adapt well. It's the same way with generals. Moreover, Serbs honor the tradition of having generals for peace and generals for war, so what would we change now? Commander Misic left right after the war, and Stepa, although they were pillars of the supreme command cadre in Serbia.

[Jovovic] Are the imminent departure of General Mladic and your assumption of his position certain?

[Simic] That's the most common absurdity. Until it is determined what kind of army there will be and how it will be organized, no one can leave; we agreed on this at the last meeting of the command. Secondly, there are some far more deserving and older than I who, by the nature of the job, could replace Mladic.

I am a corps commander and even these duties are over my head. These are some plots that have no connection with my personality and I want to distance myself from them.

[Jovovic] Whose plots could they be?

[Simic] I don't know. Serbs recently praised Mladic to the heavens, and now whoever wishes to kicks him around. I think that is directed more toward me. I am not a medical personality, where did they find just me? What am I? Why not Talic, Milovanovic? I have heard some of those stories.

The military profession is full of terrible changes and surprises, and my arrival at the head of a corps three-and-a-half years ago was a terrible surprise for me. When Talic informed me of this, I told him I couldn't accept. And he told Mladic that Simic agreed. They sent me to watch over the corridor. The family in Banja Luka tells you, you will best watch over the corridor.

[Jovovic] What was most difficult for you in the war?

[Simic] It was most difficult for me when about 70 of my fighters were surrounded at Lisaca, and when we tried for 20 days to get them out of that encirclement. They were taken prisoner, but we succeeded in making an exchange for them. When a man sums things up, he always thinks he could have done more than he did.

B-H: Bosnian Serbs Say Muslims Harass Refugees in Brcko

LD2503210696 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1838 GMT 25 Mar 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Brcko, 25 Mar (SRNA)—Zarko Cosic, head of the Brcko Security Services Center, told SRNA today that, following the removal of Bosnian Serb police checkpoints outside Brcko, the five access roads into the town are no longer being controlled by either the international police or IFOR [Implementation Force].

According to him, the Serb police are allowed to control only traffic for no longer than 30 minutes in one place, and this decision is being fully observed.

Since 22 March, when the checkpoints were first removed, three incidents have occurred in Brcko in which several people sustained slight injuries. In all three cases the Muslims tried to harass Serb refugees who have settled in Brcko.

Cosic said he has warned IFOR that the Muslims are abusing freedom of movement, but that so far IFOR has done nothing to prevent similar incidents.

B-H: Seselj Addresses Rally on 'Serb Land,' Milosevic

AU2503204796 Belgrade NASA BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 25 Mar 96 p 4

[Article by D. Petrovic, V. Didanovic: "We Will Regain All Serb Territory"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bijeljina—The Serbian Radicals will never accept the occupation of a single inch of Serb land. At the moment, the most important thing is to keep what is left, but to regain the greater part of the Serb Republic and the Serb Krajina, we have to wait for a change of authorities in Serbia and a change in the international balance of power.

These are the most important messages from the rally of the Serbian Radical Party [SRS] held on Saturday [23 March] on the Kralj Petar Prvi Karadjordjevic Square in Bijeljina. The rally was attended by several thousand citizens (correspondents' estimates are between 4,000 and 10,000 people).

"At the next elections in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina," SRS Chairman Vojislav Seselj said, "NATO and the United Nations will first demand a vote for a unitary Bosnia and then a vote for the entities, which does not suit the Serb people."

"That is why we, the Serbian Radicals, are demanding a census first and then elections. The Serbs that fled before trouble are to vote in places where they live in the Serb Republic and not where the Muslims are in charge," Seselj said, adding that "NATO and the United Nations will try and create confusion among the Serb people before the elections by pushing the worst traitors from the Serb ranks. They will even try to eliminate some parties."

Addressing "the imminent NATO tricks," Seselj said that, according to his information, "the Muslims are preparing to march on Brcko in order to cut the Serb Republic in half." Brcko will be defended by arms, the SRS leader promised.

According to the Radicals, the future of the Serb Republic lies in a coalition of the SRS and the Serb Democratic Party [SDS] with "a capitalist system, a fairly implemented privatization, with special provisions for the invalids of war and families of killed fighters."

"Today we are in opposition to the SDS. We have criticized the SDS when it deserved criticism. We exposed their criminal deeds. However, the criminal elements have now transferred to the Socialist Party of Serbia so that the SDS has been purified," Seselj stressed, adding that "the SRS in the Serb Republic is an independent party, properly registered and based in Banja Luka."

"Serbia will not treat you as a mother until freedom and democracy win in Serbia," Seselj told the gathered Bijeljina citizens, but also refugees from Sarajevo and other towns in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina, as could be seen from the paroles.

Seselj told the gathered citizens that "no one from any Serb land, regardless of internal disputes, can be extradited to The Hague Tribunal. The only concession that can be made is if they demand the simultaneous extradition of Tudjman, Milosevic, and Izetbegovic."

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"We have lost, but we are not broken," Nikola Poplasen, chairman of the SRS for the Serb Republic, stressed, speaking about "the serious defeat of the Serbian official diplomacy," which—as he put it—annulled the results achieved in battle. The rally was also addressed by Aleksandar Vucic, secretary general of the party, and other SRS officials from the Serb Republic.

[Box, p 4]

Promise

"In spring 1993, in this very place, I promised you that we would overthrow Dobrica Cosic because he had betrayed the Serbian national interest," Seselj told the Bijeljina people, and added: "I promise you today—We will overthrow Milosevic, too!"

B-H: Serb's Buha Hopes For Flexibility on Election Rules

AU2503173196 Novi Sad DNEVNIK in Serbo-Croatian 25 Mar 96 p 2

[Unattributed report: "New Election Rules"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 23 March—Aleksa Buha, foreign minister of the Serb Republic [Serb-held part of Bosnia-Herzegovina], said this evening that it was agreed at today's meeting of the Contact Group ministers in Moscow that punitive measures would be undertaken against the sides that did not comply with the commitments, adding that this referred primarily to the Muslims, who were two months behind on the agreed release of prisoners of war.

In his statement to SRNA, Buha said that the Contact Group had authorized the international community's high representative, Carl Bildt, to obtain the release of the remaining prisoners.

About 280 Serbs, whose names we do not know, are still in Muslim prisons, but that number is probably higher, as another few Serbs have in the meantime been arrested in Serb Sarajevo, the Serb Republic's foreign minister said.

According to him, the meeting also dealt with the coming elections. It was said that there was a need for them to be held sooner, perhaps even before the scheduled September deadline.

We pointed out the difficulties concerning the temporary election rules, which envisage that people vote in the commune in which they were registered before the war, which would lead to a new migration of people, Buha warned, expressing hope that the members of the Contact Group would be more flexible on that point.

B-H: Social Democrats Predict SDS Defeat in Elections

AU2503181296 Hamburg NOVA BOSNA in Serbo-Croatian 25 Mar 96 p 5

[ONASA report: "Terrorist SDS Will Be Defeated in Elections"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo, 24 March—Milorad Dodik, chairman of the Party of Independent Social Democrats of the so-called Serb entity, said that new structures, both conceptually and regarding personality, will emerge on the Bosnia-Herzegovina political scene.

"They will be capable of responding to the new challenges. All the problems that have resulted from the war and historical heritage must be solved by peaceful means. What is certain regarding the elections in the Serb entity is that the ruling Serb Democratic Party [SDS] will be defeated politically and will not even get a significant number of votes. The SDS is disorganized. In that party, it is very hard to establish relations that are normal in political organizations. The SDS is falling apart at the seams since the time has come to answer for many things both internally and externally," Dodik said. According to Dodik, cooperation with the international war crimes tribunal for the former Yugoslavia seated in The Hague is necessary.

"Everyone responsible for war crimes must be put on trial, and that goes for the Serb entity leaders Radovan Karadzic and Ratko Mladic. Let the court decide whether they are guilty or not. They should not shift their responsibility onto the entire Serb nation. Guilt is an individual thing, so everyone should suffer for the crimes he has committed," Dodik said, adding that Bosnia-Herzegovina is his homeland.

B-H: Liberals Blame SDS for 'Chaos' in Serb Entity

AU2503195096 Hamburg NOVA BOSNA in Serbo-Croatian 25 Mar 96 p 4

[Unattributed report: "Complete Chaos in the So-Called Serb Entity"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo, 24 March—Miodrag Zivanovic, chairman of the Social Liberal Party from Banja Luka [name as published], and Sejfudin Tokic, chairman of the Executive Committee of the Union of Bosnia-Herzegovina Social Democrats, visited Ilidza yesterday, where they held talks with the citizens of Serb nationality who have remained behind in this Sarajevo district after the reintegration, and with the representatives of the Democratic Initiative from Ilidza.

Miodrag Zivanovic, who is in Sarajevo for the second time since the beginning of the war, said at yesterday's news conference in Sarajevo that the situation in the so-called Serb entity was a bit more realistic after Dayton, but that great economic and social problems were still present. According to him, there are over 90,000 refugees in Banja Luka, and the economy was running at only 8 to 10 percent capacity. The influence of the terrorist Serb Democratic Party [SDS] is still strong in Banja Luka. Despite the signing of the peace agreement, this party is still using the media to raise ethnic tensions and present stories that obstruct the Bosnia-Herzegovina peace agreement.

"Sarajevo felt that obstruction well, when the factories were dismantled and the Serbs moved out to territories that should be handed back to the Croats and Bosniaks in accordance with the agreement. They are using the media to instill more fear and hatred," Zivanovic said.

According to him, a new theory has been conveyed to the public—war is a natural state for the Serbs. Therefore, peace is a state of national decadence.

There is a repeat of repression and, just as at the start of the war, there are black lists again on which "the enemies of the regime" appear, and the network for telephone and other forms of threats has been reactivated.

"Organized chaos reigns in the Serb entity, and the SDS is responsible," Zivanovic said.

B-H: SDA Official Views Central Bosnian Canton Assembly

AU2503171996 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 25 Mar 96

[FBIS Translated Text] The Party of Democratic Action [SDA] of the central Bosnian canton is ready to adequately carry out [words indistinct], Dzevad Majco, chairman of SDA of the central Bosnian canton, stated after the meeting of the cantonal board, at which preparations for the constitutional cantonal assembly scheduled for Thursday 28 March were discussed.

Preparations for the proposal of candidates for certain functions at the forthcoming session were made, and it was agreed that the first and inaugurating session of the cantonal assembly should have a ceremonial character.

Answering questions on the canton's name, since the Croatian Democratic Community [HDZ] has even presented an initiative that Travnik should be designated a district, Majco said: "I think it is absurd to interpret that because it is clear that a problem is being invented in order to dodge doing a certain job. In the case of Bugojno, this can be linked to the existence of certain people who only declare support for the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, but really do everything to prevent the implementation of the Federation and to disrupt the state of Bosnia-Herzegovina, which is, in fact, a sort of political and psychological pressure."

B-H: SDA, HDZ Leaders Agree To End 'Media War'

AU2503204396 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 25 Mar 96

[FBIS Translated Text] The talks between the representatives from the Party of Democratic Action [SDA] and the Croatian Democratic Community [HDZ] have just ended in Sarajevo. The SDA delegation, which was headed by Vice President Edhem Bicakic, was comprised of Safet Orucevic, Mehmed Cvrhodzic, and Avdo Capara. The HDZ delegation was headed by its president, Bozo Rajic, and, among others, also included Srecko Vucina, Drago Bilandzija, Ivo Lozancic, and Kresimir Zubak. Samir Huseinovic reports:

[Begin recording] [Huseinovic] The topic of today's talks between the SDA and the HDZ was also putting an end to the media war to create the best possible conditions for the implementation of the Federation. The leaders of the strongest Bosnia-Herzegovina parliamentary parties, naturally, also discussed numerous other issues of significance for the Federation. In connection with this, the leaders of the SDA and HDZ delegations made statements. Here is Edhem Bicakcic:

[Bicakcic] We agreed that we would primarily address the media with a joint appeal to terminate the media war that is displaying the difficulties in the functioning of the Federation, or at least that the media barrage on this topic should subside and that those elements that clearly exist and prove that the Federation is nevertheless moving forward—not at the desired speed, but it has made some progress, which is evident, can be seen daily, and can be seen by the ordinary citizens, Bosniaks, Croats, and others—should be stressed.

Regarding the constituting of the cantons, we agreed that this task should be completed as soon as possible. You know that the meeting in Petersburg will take place next week and, in compliance with the obligations undertaken in Geneva, this task should be completed before 28 April. The sessions of the cantons that have not been constituted yet have already been scheduled. In this way, the sessions of the cantons in Western Herzegovina and in the Tomislavgrad-Livno region—the two cantons that have not been constituted so far—will be held on 26 March, at which, apart from the Croats, the Bosniaks—who are the minority people in these cantons—will also take part. We also agreed that

the cantons with special authorities—that is, with parity representation in the authorities—in Central Bosnia and in Neretva should be constituted on 28 March.

[Huseinovic] They also discussed the work of the government, especially in the realm of defense.

[Bicakcic] The issue of the defense law is very important. It should be coordinated mutually as soon as possible. The differences over it have now been brought down to a minimum. We expect that, in the course of this day, the defense minister and deputy defense minister will come up with a coordinated text.

[Huseinovic] After the talks, the correspondents were also addressed by HDZ President Bozo Rajic:

[Rajic] We agreed that the parties that head the two constituent peoples that form the Federation would refrain from all media reports, programs, and commentaries that are rooted in labeling, criticizing, and accusing the most senior representatives of the two peoples. With full respect for the freedom of the media, in the name of the HDZ, I condemn and distance myself from all reportage that is geared at labeling, criticizing, and accusing the most senior representatives of the Bosniak-Muslim peoples in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[Huseinovic] The leaders of the SDA and HDZ expressed their readiness to continue talks to overcome all differences. [end recording]

B-H: Report on SDA Main Committee Meeting, New Members

96BA0179A Sarajevo DNEVNI AVAZ in Serbo-Croatian 30 Jan 96 pp 1-2

[Article by A. Bajric: "After the Two-Day Meeting of the SDA Main Committee: Consistent Interpreter of the Interests of Bosnia"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *The newly elected president of the Main Committee of the party, Halid Genjac, bases his optimism before the elections on what the SDA [Party of Democratic Action] has done up to now, "because it is the party of the survival of the Bosnian people." All Bosnians should, with their joint forces, preserve what was paid for with the blood of 200,000 of our best sons. Vice president of the party, Husein Zivalj: "The SDA has remained true to the principles of freedom and democracy."*

The belief is general that the Party of Democratic Action will not have real competition at the upcoming elections, provided that we organize and prepare ourselves well, the newly elected president of the Main Committee of the party, Halid Genjac, stated yesterday at the press conference organized by the SDA.

The SDA press conference was held with the aim of presenting to the public information, views, and conclusions of the two-day meeting of the Main Committee, in its expanded structure, and there were also references to the work of branches of the party in Europe and the United States.

The new president of the Main Committee of the SDA, Halid Genjac, the new vice president of the party, Husein Zivalj, Teufik Velagic, representative of the SDA of Europe and a new member of the Executive Committee of the SDA, and Nedzib Sacirbegovic, SDA coordinator for the United States, appeared before reporters. New members of the SDA IO [Executive Committee] Fatima Leho, Azra Idrizbegovic, Dzemaludin Latic, and Ahmed Hadzijamakovic were also introduced.

The new president of the SDA Main Committee, Halid Genjac, spoke about the meeting of this part of the party, which, in his words, took place in the spirit of a report by the president of the SDA and of the Presidency of the RBiH [Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina], Alija Izetbegovic, who spoke about the work of the party in the past six years and the Theses on the Election Program of the SDA, submitted by Ejup Ganic. According to Halid Genjac, the theses contain landmarks and views related to the most important questions of the upcoming elections.

"More than 70 discussants participated in a discussion on the reports, and the discussion illustrated both the intellectual potential of the party and its broad interest in all the portentous questions on the life of the country and people, especially the problem of refugees and missing persons, as well as the revitalization of the economy and the employment of demobilized soldiers, the legality of work, and the amelioration of the negative effects of the Dayton agreement," Dr. Genjac said.

In his words, many participants in the discussion posed the question of the elections and the party's chances of winning there. Speaking about election chances, Genjac quoted the words of Division General Atif Dudakovic, uttered at the discussion: "I don't know the source of these doubts; we are strong and we will win."

Nine new members of the Main Committee were elected at the meeting, since the mandate of the current members has expired. In addition, one-third of the members of the SDA Executive Committee were changed, and expanded councils of the party were named: legal, medical, economic, financial-monetary, and education, and the Council for Culture and Sport. Halid Genjac acquainted reporters with the structure of the GO [Main Committee] and the SDA Council. One of the decisions of the Main Committee is the choice of Husein Zivalj as SDA vice president to replace Haris Silajdzic, about

whose resignation, submitted in August 1994, the Main Committee was informed.

"Haris Silajdzic was extended an invitation to this meeting, but he did not respond to it," Dr. Genjac said.

The new vice president of the party, Husein Zivalj, pronounced the last meeting of the SDA Main Committee an important event, which shows that the SDA has remained a consistent interpreter of the interests of Bosnia and the Bosnian people.

"This shows that the party has remained true to the principles of freedom and democracy, that it will firmly and staunchly defend the integrity of all of Bosnia-Herzegovina, that it will continue to build bridges of peace with all who have wanted peace and coexistence in these areas, and that it will continue to build and consolidate its international sovereignty, preserving the high repute that we enjoy as representatives of our country," said Husein Zivalj, who emphasized that the time after the Dayton agreement is a challenge for all and for the United States.

Zivalj also mentioned that it will be seen in the coming year whether there will be success where there was success in the war. In this context all Bosnians must preserve, with their joint forces, what was paid for with the blood of 200,000 dead.

In the name of the SDA, Husein Zivalj expressed sympathy for the families of soldiers of IFOR [Implementation Force] forces who have lost their lives on their mission in our country.

Speaking about the work of the SDA of Europe, its member from Austria, Teufik Velagic, said the SDA of Europe has about 60 branches in Europe, of which 10 are in Austria.

"Our work is based on a patriotic, national, and political aspect. Because of the misfortune that has occurred in our homeland, the greatest part of our work has been of a humanitarian nature," said Velagic, emphasizing that it will never be exactly known how much humanitarian aid has been collected.

He said that the two-day meeting of the Main Committee convinced SDA representatives from Europe of the quality of those men who are leading the party. Velagic stressed the gradual return of our refugees as the greatest problem and the principal task of the SDA of Europe.

"We have no ambition of carrying out a Bosnian policy; we only have the obligation of pushing the Bosnian cart." With these words Nedzib Sacirbegovic described the activities of the SDA in the United States, emphasizing the interest that the Bosnian influence yield results. In his words, this is carried out through close institutions and organizations, such as the Islamic Society in America, Jewish organizations, and the Catholic and Protestant churches, but also with the help of individuals who state no religious views.

"We introduce our aims as biological: that they don't slaughter and kill us; as ideological: that they do not christen and atheize us; as sociological: that we do not wish to be second-class citizens. We have wanted guilty and innocent Serbs to be differentiated," Nedzib Sacirbegovic said.

As to the question of reporters as to how the claim that the SDA would win without competition was being argued, Halid Genjac said that the party would win on the basis of what it had done up to now, and because it is the party of survival of the Bosnian people.

The interest of American business organizations in investing in Bosnia-Herzegovina was confirmed by a recent meeting of more than 200 business organizations from the United States, about which Nedzib Sacirbegovic informed reporters.

The reputation of persons in the field, their involvement, the work, and the place where they were during the war were some of the criteria that members of the Main Committee of the SDA had in mind in voting for new members of the Main and Executive committees of the party.

[Box, p 2]

Main Committee of the SDA

Irfan Ajanovic, Alaga Ajdinovic, Mehmed Alagic, Djulaga Ajkic, Ejub Alagic, Mehmed Alicelebic, Ahmed Alicic, Adem Alibalic, Alija Alihodzic, Teufik Arapcic, Sukrija Baksic, Zahid Beganovic, Omer Behmen, Zuhdija Beso, Edhem Bicakcic, Abdel Bajanac, Osman Brka, Salko Bukvarevic, Muharem Cero, Sefkija Cekic, Halid Cengic, Hasan Cengic, Omer Cevra, Mehmed Corhodzic, Mirsad Ceman, Salim Cesko, Safet Cibo, Abdulah Delic, Sejad Delic, Zijad Demirovic, Atif Dudakovic, Enes Durakovic, Fuad Djidic, Mustafa Djelilovic, Nihad Edjilovic, Bahrudin Efendic, Hadzo Efendic, Hamed Efendic, Asim Egrlic, Emir Gacanovic, Bekir Gavrankapetanovic, Izet Gazdic, Halid Genjac, Bajro Greljo, Dzevad Gusic, Sead Hadzagic, Asim Hadzic, Ismet Hadzic, Izet Hadzic, Hasan Hadzihamzic, Sefik Hukic, Zijad Hasic, Muhamed Hukovic, Nedzad Ibrisimovic, Munever Imamovic, Safet Isovic, Mujo Istic, Azer Jugo, Munib Kaimovic, Midhat Karadzic, Fikret Karcic, Salih Karabdic, Ismet Kasumagic, Faruk Konjhodzic, Asim Koricic, Avdija Kovacevic, Emir Kovacevic, Sead Kreso, Muharem Krzic, Salih Kulenovic,

Dzemaludin Latic, Zijad Ljevakovic, Sakib Mahmuljin, Alija Mehmedagic, Edin Muhic, Mirza Mujadzic, Ejup Mujic, Kasim Muminhodzic, Fikret Muslimovic, Abdulah Nakas, Abdulah Nanic, Amila Omersoftic, Salko Opacin, Mensur Pasalic, Mustafa Pamuk, Redzo Rasljanin, Ibrahim Ramic, Mustafa Ramic, Sead Residbegovic, Haris Redzic, Alija Rizvanbegovic, Muhamed Sadikovic, Bedrudin Salcinovic, Aida Smajic, Hajrudin Smajic, Ahmet Spahic, Emir Srna, Ibro Suljevic, Almasa Sacirbegovic, Nedzib Sacirbegovic, Mersed Sahinovic, Dzevad Saldic, Kemal Terzic, Sulejman Tihic, Alaga Topic, Dzevad Tosunbegovic, Haris Trnka, Bisera Turkovic, Faik Uzunovic, Mirsad Veladzic, Teufik Velagic, Nazif Veledar, Ilijaz Zenkic, Sefket Zukic.

[Box, p 2]

Executive Committee

Since we published unofficial and incomplete information about the new members of the IO of the SDA in yesterday's issue, today we are publishing an official list of the new members of the IO, as well as those who are no longer members.

The members of the Executive Committee of the SDA are: Zahid Beganovic, Omer Behmen, Edhem Bicakcic, Osman Brka, Hasan Cengic, Mehmed Corhodzic, Mirsad Ceman, Ejup Ganic, Midhat Haracic, Izudin Kapetanovic, Safet Orucevic, Ibrahim Ramic, Hase Tiric, Mirsad Veladzic, Husein Zivalj, and Bakir Alispahic. New members of the Executive Committee are: Dr. Tarik Arapcic, Nedzad Brankovic, Ahmed Hadzijamakovic, Dr. Azra Idrizbegovic, Dzemaludin Latic, Fatima Leho, Hilmo Neimarlija, and Brigadier General Said Mahmuljin.

From the former composition of the Executive Committee, the following did not receive a sufficient number of votes in secret voting: Amila Omersoftic, Aida Smajic, Mervana Hadzimurtezic, Salih Karabdic, Edib Bukvic, Mirza Mujadzic, and Enver Kreso. Since Kreso had a mandate in two positions, as an elected member of the IO and president of the Club of Delegates, he continues as a member of the IO of the SDA.

The president of the SDA of Europe, Teufik Velagic, and a representative proposed by the Muslim National Council of the Sandzak are also joining the IO of the SDA.

[Box, p 2]

Husein Zivalj

Husein Zivalj was born on 2 April 1949 in Zivaljevici near Rogatica. He graduated with a degree in the field of fluid mechanics in 1986.

He moved with his family in 1989 to Florida, where he obtained the position of director of a laboratory. He worked there until 1994 on research and development of pneumatic and electronic control systems in the HVAC [heating, ventilating, and air conditioning] industry.

In the well-known staged Stalinist trial of Muslim intellectuals in Sarajevo, he was sentenced to six years of hard labor, of which he served three in the notorious prison in Zenica. Directly after the SDA was founded in Sarajevo, he approached this party in America in June 1990, and, with several other Bosnian enthusiasts, he participated intensively in the preelection campaign of the Democratic candidate, Bill Clinton; this had a significant effect on the orientation of official American policy toward the three-and-a-half-year war in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

After the aggression against Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia, he became active as an organizer of a series of humanitarian actions to aid victims of the war and as a lecturer at many meetings throughout America with the aim of correctly informing the world public about the ethnic, cultural, and historical events that preceded the aggression. As a result of these activities, he worked from 1994 to 1995 as a special adviser in the embassy of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina in Vienna, performing a series of important functions in the capacity of personal delegate of President Izetbegovic, as well as before the government of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina. In July 1995 he was appointed ambassador of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina to Austria.

He speaks English fluently and is conversant in German. He has been a member of the Executive Committee of the SDA since March 1994.

[Box, p 2]

Halid Genjac

Halid Genjac was born on 8 March 1958 in Visoko. He completed high school in Visoko and the Medical Faculty in Tuzla in 1980. He was a recipient of the gold medal at the University in Tuzla for excellent results in his studies. He specialized in gynecology at the Clinic in Zagreb in 1989. Since then he has been employed in the Dom Zdravlja [Medical Facility] in Travnik as a specialist physician and then as director of the facility. He completed a subspecialty in gynecological cytology. From 1991 to 1995 he was president of the District Organization of the SDA—Travnik. He is the organizer of the Patriot League, especially the medical part for the Travnik area.

He has been a member of the Main Committee of the SDA of Bosnia-Herzegovina since 27 March 1994. He speaks Russian fluently. He lived with his family and worked in Travnik all during the war, and does so now.

Croatia: Delegations Fail To Agree on Ploce Lease

AU2503213696 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 25 Mar 96

[Report by Nada al Isa from Zagreb—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The delegations of the Republic and the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Republic of Croatia in Zagreb today failed to agree on the section of Ploce harbor that would be leased to Bosnia-Herzegovina and its administrator. The delegations were headed by Neven Tomic, Bosnia-Herzegovina minister for foreign trade and international communications, and Croatian Deputy Prime Minister Ljerka Mintas-Hodak. Nada al Isa reports from Zagreb:

[al Isa] It is not known yet when the agreement on the lease of Ploce harbor will be signed. Namely, the only thing that was agreed concretely in Zagreb today, and even this only in principle, was to open the Ploce-Sarajevo-Zenica railroad for traffic in May.

However, as regards the harbor itself many things remained controversial. For example, they did not manage to agree which part of the harbor would be leased as a free zone and who would administer it and how. The manner of transport of goods from the Bosnia-Herzegovina border to the customs office was not agreed either. We will cite one concrete example on which the delegations could not agree. Croatia requested that the Croatian police with a prior announcement be given the right to control the goods and the cargo for Bosnia-Herzegovina in the free zone. The Bosnia-Herzegovina side asked in response to this what sort of a free zone this would be if it were controlled by the Croatian police.

They should at least try to coordinate this by 15 April. Namely, as it was announced today, by then the negotiating teams will be joined in Zagreb by the experts of both sides in an attempt to agree on the concrete details acceptable to both sides. In the meantime, until the signing of the final agreement on the lease of the harbor, a temporary agreement will be signed which will allow the Republic and the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina to use the harbor before the completion of the final agreement. These temporary measures will be proposed by the Croatian Government. [passage omitted]

Croatia: Bosnian, Croat Delegates Negotiate Port Lease

AU2503184296 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 25 Mar 9

[Report by Nada al Isa from Zagreb—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] In Zagreb negotiations are under way between the delegations of the Republic and the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Republic of Croatia on the leasing of Ploce port. The Bosnia-Herzegovina delegation members are Neven Tomic, minister for trade and communications, and ambassador of Bosnia-Herzegovina to Croatia Kasim Trnka, while the Croatian delegation is led by Deputy Prime Minister Ljerka Mintas-Hodak. Nada al Isa reports from Zagreb:

[al Isa] The talks were supposed to last for about an hour, at least according to the official announcement. However, it seems that the talks are not progressing smoothly because the negotiations have lasted for almost three hours already. Over the past 14 days this is the second round of negotiations being held in Zagreb on Ploce port. After the last round the head of the Croatian delegation, Deputy Prime Minister Ljerka Mintas-Hodak, said that before the new talks, prior to the current ones, new consultations ought to be made in the Republic of Croatia and at all levels before anything is definitely agreed or signed.

However, since today's talks are lasting longer than anticipated it can be assumed that all opinions have not been harmonized yet and that [words indistinct]. After the latest round of talks in Zagreb the ambassador of Bosnia-Herzegovina to Croatia, Dr. Kasim Trnka, pointed out that contracts ought to be signed as soon as possible because Bosnia-Herzegovina could not wait forever for the contract on the leasing of Ploce port. Otherwise some other, new solutions will be sought, and one of the new solutions could be, according to sources with the Office of FRY to Croatia, the one that Belgrade is proposing to Bosnia-Herzegovina, that is, to lease the port of Bar.

Croatia: Border Commission Head Denies Dispute With Bosnia

AU2503205996 Hanau NOVA BOSNA in Serbo-Croatian 22 Mar 96 p 9

[ONASA report: "Borders Between Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina Are Not Disputed"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Zagreb, 20 Mar—Hrvoje Kacic, chairman of the state commission for the borders of the Republic of Croatia, has stated that the borders with Bosnia-Herzegovina are not disputed, not even in the part where the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina has its outlet to the sea at Neum.

"There are no problems there, nor should we expect any. However, one should keep in mind that Neum is an important ecological area and that is why that part of the coast should enjoy special protection," Kacic says. According to him, because of Neum's ecological importance the solution should be sought in the free zone of the port of Ploce. "The main issue is how to organize the use of the port of Ploce to the satisfaction of both Croatia and the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina. The port of Ploce is a natural link of Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina with all the other ports. In a later phase Sibenik, Zadar and even Rijeka might become attractive to Bosnia-Herzegovina for traffic of goods and people," Kacic says.

Croatia: Possible FRY-Croatia Recognition in Moscow

AU2203164296 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 22 Mar 96

[Report by Nada al Issa—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] Can Croatia expect [words indistinct] recognition on the part of Belgrade at all? Minister Granic has suddenly left for Moscow, having canceled the trip to Ljubljana scheduled for today. At the Russian Embassy in Zagreb, unofficial information says that the Moscow meeting could give new stimulus to the implementation of the Dayton accords. Reportedly, Moscow cannot allow the meeting on the former Yugoslavia to fail. [Word indistinct] that something historic should be signed is simply felt on the diplomatic scene. Even in Zagreb it is being stressed that the main topics of the Moscow conference will be the financing of reconstruction of Bosnia-Herzegovina, the deployment of the international police force in Bosnia and Croatia, the extradition of war criminals, and the return of refugees. However, one other indication coming from Russian diplomatic sources says [words indistinct] that Russia hopes for a logical resolution to the normalization of relations between Yugoslavia and the Republic of Croatia, which means mutual recognition. For Croatia, one ought to say, such recognition is of vital importance as it would mean that Yugoslavia would give up the 3 percent of occupied territory and that Croatia would be integral. This would also be of vital importance for Tudjman because in that case he would certainly win the next elections and remain president.

Croatia: Serb Leader Expects Apology From Albright

LD2503171596 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1643 GMT 25 Mar 96

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, March 25 (TANJUG)—President of the Serb People's Party in Zagreb and Croatian Parliament Deputy Milan Djukic addressed a protest letter to U.S. Ambassador to the U.N. Madeleine Albright saying that by her biased statements she imposes collective guilt on the Serbs for the war in the former Yugoslavia.

Albright said it was no wonder those who destroyed Vukovar do not like her following an incident during her visit to the predominantly Serb-populated Srem-Baranja region, which was the statement that prompted Djukic's protest.

Albright on Thursday visited Vukovar which was the scene of fierce fighting at the end of 1991 over Croatia's forcible secession from the former yugoslav federation. A group of local people received her with shouts and protests and stones were thrown on her motorcade for which leaders of the area apoligized to her.

The government of the Srem-Baranja area said in its statement issued on Friday that the people of Vukovar were provoked by Croatian reporters accompanying Albright who had scoffed at them asking what they were doing in the area and who had decorated a car with a Croatian flag.

Madeleine Albright's statement only confirms her partiality demonstrated repeatedly in her speeches, Djukic said adding that he did not justify the behaviour of the group in Vukovar but that he also believed the U.S. ambassador would publicly apologize to the Serbs. Djukic said Albright had forgotten that war criminals had first and last names.

It is not surprising that the crisis in this area is taking so long to resolve when influential international politicians give such statements, Djukic said in his letter.

Croatia: E. Slavonia Serbs Apologize to Albright

LD2203184096 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1729 GMT 22 Mar 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Belgrade, 22 Mar (TANJUG)—The executive council of Srem-Baranja Region [SBO] today sent an apology to Madeleine Albright, U.S. ambassador to the United Nations,

over yesterday's incident at Vukovar market. [passage omitted]

The SBO executive council's statement says the visit by the American diplomat would not have provoked any special reactions and would have gone unnoticed had it not been "for a group of reporters telling the locals at the market—in the Kajkavski dialect [spoken north of Zagreb]—that they had no business being in the area."

The flaunting of the symbols of Croatian TV, as well as the checkered flag in one of the vehicles, was "aimed at irritating and provoking incidents," the statement said. [passage omitted]

Expressing its regret over the incident and stressing that it did not wish to justify the conduct of the perpetrators of the incident, the SBO executive council sent its apologies to Ambassador Albright and thanked her for her attention as her visit provided an opportunity for the Serb side to make known its position on the implementation of the peace process. [passage omitted]

Croatia: Zagreb Accused of Discrimination Against Serbs

LD2403200196 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1756 GMT 24 Mar 96

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, March 24 (TANJUG)—Serb Party leader in Croatia Milorad Pupovac said on Sunday that a normalization of relations between Zagreb and Belgrade would improve the position of the Serbs in Croatia who are now treated unjustly.

Serbs are treated unjustly in many way, regarding housing, jobs and their right to property or to return to Krajina and Western Slavonia, Pupovac, the president of the Independent Serbian Party and president of the Democratic Forum, said in an interview with Radio Kragujevac.

Krajina and Western Slavonia are parts of the Republic of Serb Krajina seized by the Croatian army in aggressions in May and August last year. About 300,000 Serbs were driven away from their ancestral homes in the aggression. The international community has urged their repatriation but Zagreb is blocking it by posing bureaucratic obstacles.

Despite all efforts made by our Serb institutions, we still do not enjoy forms of cultural autonomy, guaranteed by the Constitution, such as right to the Cyrillic alphabet, language, schools, presence in the public and media, Pupovac said, adding that the situation might improve if Croatia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia started serious talks on the matter.

Pupovac maintains that prospects for a normalization of Yugoslav-Croatian relations are very good and that important results and steps in that direction may be expected soon.

Zvonimir Cicak, opposition leader and president of the Croatian Helsinki Committee for Human Rights, said that Croatian authorities were not only violating human rights standards but that its political platform was based on disrespect and heavy violation of human rights.

Many Serbs who have remained in Croatia following an appeal by Croatian President Franjo Tudjman are now thrown out of their homes which are then seized by Croats, Cicak said in an interview with the Rijeka paper NOVI LIST published on Saturday.

Croatia: Refugee Serbs Make Demands for Return

AU2603095096 Beli Manastir Srpski Radio Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 21 Mar 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] Regarding the delegation's visit, on behalf of about 500 displaced persons now living in Kolut a telegram was sent to the head of the negotiating team of the Srem-Baranja province, Milan Milanovic, and president of the executive council of the Beli Manastir municipal assembly, Vasa Zigic.

Among the statements made in the telegram is the following: "We believe that, even without our suggestion, you will tell Mrs. Albright that we demand that the return of the displaced persons from Lika and other Krajina areas be simultaneous with the return of the displaced Croats from Baranja and other areas, or else there will be much indignation and dissatisfaction of all the displaced persons from the Republic of Serb Krajina.

"Tell Mrs. Albright that we also demand that the Republic of Croatia pass the amnesty law as soon as possible, so that we can be safe and return as soon as possible," says the telegram from the displaced persons in Kolut.

Croatia: E. Slavonia Serbs Optimistic About Settlement

AU2603095696

[FBIS Report] Beli Manastir Srpski Radio Network in Serbo-Croatian at 1700 GMT on 20 March carries a 12-minute report by Jovan Vlajkovic on the 19-20 March session of the Executive Council of Beli Manastir Municipal Assembly.

Having reported on the spring sowing, which was the main topic and was proclaimed to be "the strategic aim of the greatest interest for Srem-Baranja province" and to have "the force of a military campaign," the reporter goes on to report that the discussion focused on the overall situation in agriculture and the amount of oil needed for spring sowing (no figures cited).

He then reports on the "order concerning the conditions for the export and import of goods that the members of the Executive Council of Beli Manastir Municipal Assembly adopted after a long discussion." The order says that "all legal and individual persons, that is economic agents from Baranja, that conduct export and import business, are obliged to apply for authorization for the goods that this order concerns."

He reports on the "housing and settlement program for the refugees from the western parts of the Krajina on the territory of our municipality," and cites the statement by Slobodan Peric, acting secretary of the secretariat for town planning, who says that "1,575 persons, that is, 442 families have been permanently accommodated," and that "according to the commissioner's information, 3,463 persons have arrived since the implementation of the program started, which means that we are close to having achieved 50 percent of the plan for permanent accommodation. The biggest problem remains the shortage of housing for accommodation."

"The participants in today's session expressed their justified optimism that the implementation of the settlement program will be completed by 1 May at the latest. There are realistic conditions for implementation of the program based not only on the great interest the displaced persons have expressed, but also on the specific forms of help provided by the municipalities in the fringe areas of the mother country—Sombor, Apatin, Odzaci, Vrbas, and Kula," Vlajkovic reports and cites a statement by refugee official Dusan Jerinic, who says that "15,870 refugees are registered in Baranja," that "the number of persons who are registered daily has increased," as the age and qualification structure of the people also indicates. He also says that "a considerable number of people have arrived from the fringe areas: for instance, 436 persons, that is, 116 families from the municipality of Sombor; 288 persons, that is, 83 families from Apatin; 144 persons or 44 families from Backa Palanka; 51 person from Odzaci; 100 persons from Kula and Vrbas, and 91 person from Subotica."

Reporting that "in the decisions concerning the implementation of the settlement program it was emphasized that the program provisions and the additional decisions of the Executive Council must be conscientiously and consistently implemented, and more energetic measures must be taken against those whose dishonorable acts are aimed against the national interests of the Serb people in Serb Baranja," the reporter rounds up by reporting on the discussion of the "real situation in the Beli Manastir gerontological center [as heard], which is very difficult," and the activities concerning some of the public utilities, agricultural cooperatives, and sports organizations.

Croatia: NSS Leader Says Half of Serbs Wish To Return

AU2603112096 Belgrade NASA BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 25 Mar 96 p 3

[Report by Z.R.: "Some 50 Percent of Serbs Wish to Return to Croatia"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Kragujevac—Commenting on relations between Croatia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Dr. Milorad Pupovac, president of the Independent Serbian Party [NSS] and founder of the Serb Democratic Forum [SDF], in Zagreb yesterday told Radio Kragujevac that "we are on the brink of signing significant agreements leading to the normalization of relations between the two countries." According to him, this can be gleaned from the already signed agreements on reestablishing rail, road, and air traffic, and the oil pipeline.

The Zagreb NSS leader therefore believes that normalization of relations between the FRY and Croatia should improve the position of Serbs in Croatia, all the more so as their position is extremely difficult, since Serbs in Croatia continue to be discriminated against in every respect and in various ways. In Pupovac's opinion, the Serbs' right to life is under threat in Croatia, as is the right of return for those who fled, while those who stayed have no right to language, schools, or appearance in the public media.

Commenting on the possibility of Serbs returning to Croatia, Pupovac said that the SDF is contacted daily by over 50 people asking that their refugee relatives be allowed to return. In his view, as many as 50 percent of Serbs wish to return to Croatia.

If anything close to that number were to return, we would be completely satisfied, Milorad Pupovac stressed.

Croatia: RSK Refugees Protest Membership in CE

AU2603120896 Beli Manastir Srpski Radio in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 22 Mar 96

[FBIS Translated Text] The union of Serb refugees from the former Yugoslav Republic of Croatia sent a letter of protest to the EU Ministerial Council in Brussels and to the European Parliament in Strasbourg. The letter says:

[Begin recording] We are surprised and filled with bitterness at the fact that the political committee of the European Parliament, headed by Mr. van der Linden, gave the green light to make the Republic of Croatia a full member of the Council of Europe [CE]. The united Europe has thus legalized the policy of ethnic cleansing that the Republic of Croatia committed by forcing an overwhelming majority of the Serbs, from mid-1990 until the present, to leave the newly formed and internationally recognized Republic of Croatia. By accepting Croatia into the CE, you accept historical responsibility for the consequences of such an act, while closing the door to solving the problems of Serb refugees from the former Yugoslav Republic of Croatia, as well as the problems on the territory of former Bosnia-Herzegovina, which also has a large number of refugees. Croatian membership in the CE would set a precedent legalizing ethnic cleansing and the possible consequences that could soon become evident on the territory of the Srijem-Baranja district. [sentence as heard] We therefore appeal to you to reconsider the proposal of your political committee because without solving the Serb question in the Republic of Croatia in its entirety one cannot find a peaceful solution to other problems in the Balkans, or even in Europe. You must be aware that peace in the region hinges on your decision, says the letter of protest by the union of Serb refugees from the former Yugoslav Republic of Croatia addressed to the EU Ministerial Council in Brussels and the European Parliament in Strasbourg. [end recording]

Croatia: Serbia May Aid Baranja Cooperatives Financially

AU2603092096 Beli Manastir Srpska Televizija in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 20 Mar 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] The encouraging point in this matter is the indication that the Government of the Republic of Serbia will take part in providing credit financing for the spring sowing. According to Vlada Cuk, president of the Baranja cooperative association, the figure in question is several dozen million dinars, which should contribute to the resolving of the problems and improve the sowing to a great extent.

However, experts have pointed out that it would be terribly harmful to wait for [words indistinct] and start the work once it is provided. Practice has shown that when the terms for agricultural work are made shorter or are (?skipped) the results are not as satisfactory.

This is the reason the warning should not be neglected that the farmers should make maximum efforts for the agricultural land to be prepared and the sowing work to be carried out within the optimum time.

Croatia: Gen Marekovic Appointed 1st Corps Commander

AU2503193096 Zagreb VECERNJI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 22 Mar 96 p 5

[Report by V.F.: "General Marekovic Takes Up Duty"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Karlovac—General Marijan Marekovic has taken up the duty of commander in chief of the newly organized 1st Corps of the Croatian Armed Forces with its headquarters in Karlovac, by which the beginning of peacetime system of organization of the Croatian Army has begun. He was appointed to this high function on 12 March this year by the decision of Franjo Tudjman, president of Croatia and supreme commander of the Croatian Armed Forces. Gen. Miljenko Crnjac, former commander of the 1st Karlovac Corps of the Croatian Army, according to the old system, is leaving to take up the post of deputy head of the Military Cabinet with the President's Office. [passage omitted]

FYROM: Handziski Asks Greek Defense Minister To Visit

AU2503154496 Skopje MIC in English 25 Mar 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Macedonia's [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] Defense Minister Blagoj Handziski received the head of the Greek Liaisons Office in the Republic of Macedonia Aleksandros Malias on a protocol visit, yesterday.

Special attention was given to the cooperation with the collective security and defence systems, especially as part of NATO's "Partnership for Peace" initiative. Minister Handziski sent out an invitation to his Greek counterpart Gerasimos Arsenis to take part in the exercises that will be held in Macedonia as part of the initiative, in October, this year.

During the meeting, the two sides expressed willingness to hold a new meeting, which will center around the direct forms of bilateral cooperation between the two countries, in the field of defense.

FYROM: Parties Gather Signatures for Election Referendum

AU2503155196 Skopje MIC in English 25 Mar 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] VMRO-DPMNE [Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity] and the Democratic Party started the action for gathering 150,000 signatures for holding a referendum for early elections yesterday.

Their leaders Ljupco Georgievski and Petar Gosev say that the action will be a success and that every attempt of the authorities to block the initiative will be exceptionally risky as it will greatly embarrass and discredit the legal system.

The citizens are required to sign three forms. One copy will be delivered to Parliament, one to the party and one, eventually, to the Council of Europe.

FYROM: Poll Reveals Opinions on Transition, Development

AU2503170496 Skopje MIC in English 25 Mar 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The global results from the public opinion poll conducted in Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] as part of the research and marketing organization of the European Union, known as "Euro Barometer '95" were released in Skopje this Saturday. The poll was conducted in 19 former socialist countries, with the exception of FRY and Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The topics of research were the course of development in the country, market economy, democracy and human rights, and the technical side responsible for the survey is the Institute for Sociological and Political-Legal Research from Skopje.

Out of 1,000 people polled, 48 percent feel Macedonia is developing in the right direction, while 39 percent feel it is going in the wrong direction.

As to the market economy, as a comprehensive part of the economic transition, 39 percent of the people polled feel it is right for the future of the country, and 36 percent feel it is wrong.

12 percent of those polled said the financial situation in the households has improved, 35 percent said the situation is the same as before, and 49 percent the situation has deteriorated.

37 percent of those polled are satisfied with the democratic processes in the country, and 55 percent are dissatisfied. 54 percent say the individual human rights are respected, and 40 percent say they are not respected. 39 percent of those polled see Macedonia's future in its association and reliance on the relations with the United States, while 34 percent see it linked with the European Union.

According to the representatives of the Institute for Sociological and Political-Legal Research in Skopje, the complete data, as well as the data for possible comparison and analysis with the other post-socialist countries, are currently under embargo by the EU headquarters in Brussels.

Poland: Daily Comments on Yeltsin-Lukashenka Agreement

WS2503131496 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 25 Mar 96 p 6

[Commentary by Jan Skorzynski: "The Unbearable Burden of Independence"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Aleksander Lukashenka is a unique president: From the very first day in office he has been doing everything possible to deprive his homeland of national and state identity. It seems he has been successful; on 2 April he will finally cast off the unbearable burden of independence. Belarus and Russia intend to form a confederation with joint state structures, one national emblem and anthem, and the bud of a joint budget. Long-term plans provide for a joint constitution and a uniform monetary system.

From the perspective of Minsk, these projects are hardly surprising, although the pace at which the changes are being implemented is truly impressive. In carrying out his unification project, President Lukashenka can rely on the mass support he drummed up in last year's referendum. Three-fourths of Belarusian citizens approved the reconstitution of ties to Russia at the time. The protests staged by the advocates of independence deserve respect and sympathy, yet Belarusian patriots from the National Front do not stand much chance of turning back the tide of events. The silent majority prefers—at least so it seems—to return under the protectorate of a descendant of the USSR.

Moscow's intentions are not so lucid. The Kremlin does, after all, realize that the price to pay for integration with Belarus is high. The dearest price would be paid primarily by the budget and the Russian economy. Because Moscow decided to take Lukashenka up on his offer, it was probably concluded that political profits outweigh economic losses.

By entering the unification agreement with Belarus, the Russian president is taking an unprecedented step toward integrating post-Soviet states. This provides Boris Yeltsin with a very convenient campaign argument—he can thus disarm the communists who are demanding that the USSR be restored and net new votes from those who feel nostalgia for the old days. The alliance between Yeltsin and Lukashenka is a roadsign for the remaining "disunited brothers"—the agreement between Moscow and Minsk is to be an open one, inviting other states to join. Ukraine is the most welcome state. The Russian president is going to visit Kiev as early as April to try to round up support for the concept of Slavic unity. The success of this mission, however, seems highly dubious: Leonid Kuchma, unlike Aleksander Lukashenka, uses every opportunity to buttress the sovereignty of his country.

The independence of Ukraine has always been a top priority from Poland's standpoint. Now that Belarus is relinquishing its sovereignty, this issue becomes ever more important. One of the outcomes of the Yeltsin-Lukashenka agreement will be that the Russian border will once again lie on the Bug River. Russia will thus neighbor directly with the region of countries aspiring to NATO membership and, as AFP put it, have an open window on the West. It is self-evident how much room the Kremlin diplomats gain for maneuver.

Poland's five minutes in the spotlight of the international political arena are long since over. The first few years after 1989 was a propitious period. Today, however, a time of threat is perhaps beginning.

Poland: Protection Against Infected Beef Not Guaranteed

WS2503142696 Warsaw SZTANDAR in Polish 25 Mar 96 p 3

[Article by Jan J. Olszewski: "Will Infected Beef Make Its Way to Poland?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *Given our system of controlling and "tightening" borders, it is highly probable that infected beef from England will reach Polish tables. More than half the beef we eat is imported.*

The Ministry of Agriculture and the Ministry of Foreign Economic Cooperation have no control whatsoever over meat imports.

Officers from the Ministry of Agriculture assure us that we are not threatened by an epidemic because, since 1985, Poland has not imported any cattle or beef from Great Britain. They stress that there is a ban on imports of protein extracted from infected sheep, which is an ingredient of cow fodder.

At the same time, neither the Ministry of Agriculture nor the Ministry of Foreign Economic Cooperation was able to say how many companies import meat and from where!

The Foreign Agricultural Markets Monitoring Team claims that more than 61,000 tonnes of meat have been imported, nearly 8,000 of which were beef. Those are the official statistics. No one knows how many trucks made it past customs without control.

The majority of the imported beef came from Germany, Denmark, Australia, the Netherlands, and Sweden. Only meat imports worth a minimum of $100,000 are registered. Smaller amounts might have been imported from

countries that acted as intermediaries in the sale of infected British beef.

A report by Professor Henryk Lis from the Meat and Fat Industry, published in GOSPODARKA MIESNA [MEAT ECONOMY] No. 9, 1995, claims that the disease (bovine spongiform encephalopathy) occurs not only among British cows.

What guarantee do we have that infected meat from other countries has not reached Poland? Who can assure us that it will not make its way into our country via companies from Lithuania, Belarus, Ukraine, or Argentina?

Poland: Draft Provisions on Church-State Relations Viewed

WS2603101896 Warsaw TRYBUNA in Polish 25 Mar 96 p 4

[Article by "ZBW,PAP": "Who Wants a Compromise? Church-State Relations in the New Constitution"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *The church is not pleased with the provisions on church-state relations in the draft constitution. Neither are some of the members of the Constitutional Commission of the National Assembly. Opinions are surfacing that the stance adopted by the commission has to be revised. The commission has adopted provisions that all churches and religious associations are to be treated as equal, that the state will remain religiously neutral, and that the particular churches be separated from the state but cooperate. Church-state relations are to be defined by the Concordat. That is the suggestion made by Tadeusz Mazowiecki (of the Freedom Union) on the basis of prior arrangements with the church. The Episcopate, however, has withdrawn its previous statements.*

One week ago, President Aleksander Kwasniewski, having met with the primate, the Sejm speaker, and the papal nuncio, announced that the Constitutional Commission would meet with representatives of the Episcopate. Deputy Marek Mazurkiewicz (Democratic Left Alliance—SLD), chairman of the Constitutional Commission, stated that the Constitutional Commission is open to all suggestions of defining the provisions on church-state relations—not only Catholic—in finer detail.

Senator Alicja Grzeskowiak (Solidarity) claims that "it is difficult to tell who is to talk with whom and about what. If the Constitutional Commission is to be involved, the question remains of who is to represent it: representatives of the ruling majority or everyone?" Alicja Grzeskowiak is against a number of provisions on church-state relations. "I am waiting for the referendum in which this draft of the constitution would be firmly rejected," she said.

Izabella Sierakowska (SLD) maintains that the commission itself is the best forum for the discussion. "The majority of its members approve of a friendly separation of church and state, and it is no use going back to the same provisions." She pointed out that the church should be represented on the Constitutional Commission by people who share the views of the Episcopate, and not those of Father X or Y.

Poland: Market Demands Affect Defense Industry

96EP0030A Warsaw RYNKI ZAGRANICZNE (EU supplement) in Polish 20 Jan 96 No 9, p 5

[Article by Krzysztof Kraus: "A Different Market, Different Needs: Is the Defense Sector a Thing of the Past?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] In 1984-91 Poland earned $1.8 billion, and 17 billion transfer rubles from its arms exports. Tank exports alone yielded about $2.5 billion during the 1979-89 period. The principal customer (more than 80 percent) at that time was the Soviet Union. The remainder of the exports went to buyers from other Warsaw Pact countries and Middle Eastern and Far Eastern countries. Only a small part of our arms exports reached other customers.

Between 1965 and the early 1990's Polish arms plants provided firing ranges and barracks in this country and in various corners of the world with a total of 11,000 tanks, 5,800 self-propelled howitzers, 1,600 artillery tractors, 8,600 armored transporters, 6,000 helicopters, 1.5 million pistols and machine guns, and, in addition, huge quantities of ammunition.

The productive capacity of the Polish arms industry reached its peak in 1988. At that time, more than 80 enterprises with about 180,000 employees were operating to fill the needs of military production. It was then that the ammunition casings plant in Bolechow near Poznan, one of the most modern of its kind, not just in Central Eastern Europe, and which experts consider to be using technologies that meet 21st century standards, was put into operation. It made Polish armored equipment, the most popular export item, no longer dependent upon access to the ammunition stores of the Warsaw Pact. "Until then," said Professor Wieslaw M. Grudzewski, director of the Institute for Organization and Management in Industry, ORGMASZ, which has long been linked to the arms industry, "the ammunition for Polish tanks was manufactured outside Poland." After the "standard" ammunition store, the so-called ammunition unit, was depleted, further supplies

had to be drawn from stores under the control of Warsaw Pact Command or Soviet Army troops. This had fundamentally detracted from the sovereignty of the Polish Armed Forces using domestically produced equipment, and also from the exportability of the tanks made in Poland.

The paradox lay in that just when we became capable of reaching a peak of our arms output and when, thanks to the investments made, our autonomy in that field had increased, the market collapsed. Both domestically (the size of our army was cut by more than half, and, to this day, arms spending is being slashed) and in exports. This does not apply to Poland alone. A study of this segment of the world market published by the Central Planning Office at the end of 1995 indicates that NATO countries too have cut their defense spending, from $550 per capita in 1990 to $435 in 1994.

World trade in arms is diminishing. The global scale of that market decreased from $37.616 billion in 1989 to $21.975 billion in 1993. Afghanistan, which as late as 1989 had "consumed" arms worth $2.622 billion, has in practice completely dropped out of this equation; as of 1992 a zero has been inserted next to its name in the related statistics. Arms exports decreased: to Japan by at least half (from $2.637 billion to $1.006 billion); to Greece, from $1.470 billion to $414 million; to Germany, from $1.190 billion in 1989 to $583 million in 1993; and to South Korea, from $1.113 billion to $513 million.

But there also exist opposite instances. China has appeared on the market of big arms importers (in 1989 a symbolic $70 million, but by 1992 as much as $802 million). Purchases of arms on the international markets were increased by Turkey (up from $1.183 billion to $2.525 billion), Egypt (up from $214 million to $1.481 billion), Israel (up from $209 million to $474 million), Taiwan (up from $247 million to $754 million), Iran (up from $371 million to $867 million), and Great Britain (up from $117 million to $148 million). Recently, interest in arms imports has been growing in Asia and in Middle Eastern countries, and declining in Europe.

What is the conclusion to Polish arms exporters? In theory, the nadir of the crisis should by now be behind us. None of the 15 countries analyzed in the Central Planning Office's study at the end of 1995 has slashed its exports as drastically as Poland, with one exception—Spain, which in 1989 sold $566 million worth of arms to other countries but in 1993 only $43 million. A similar cut in arms exports (by 77.9 percent to $83 million) took place in Sweden. In other countries the decline in such exports ranges from 61.1 to 68.8 percent (Russia, France, Great Britain); in two others (Switzerland and China), from 47.5 to 57.7 percent; and in three (Czech Republic, Holland, Israel), from 32.0 to 38.9 percent. The list of the countries whose arms exports declined in the 1989-93 period is closed by the United States (an 8.4 percent decline in exports). On the other hand, several countries became more active arms exporters. They are: North Korea (which until the end of the 1980's was practically absent from the official arms market but now is selling arms for about $420 million annually); Germany (exclusive of the former GDR) whose arms exports increased by 92.3 percent (to $1.833 billion), and Italy, with a 77.4 percent increase (to $369 million).

A factor stabilizing our arms exports should be the fact that the substantial quantities of arms which in the past used to be imported from Poland by the former socialist countries, require maintenance and repair, thus there should be a demand for spare parts. Furthermore, developing countries are the least prone to slash their military budgets and it is these that, aside from the Warsaw Pact countries, have been our most willing customers. Some of them are under United Nations embargo, which excludes them from the list of potential buyers, but most have never been on that list.

To some extent, but on the condition that production programs be modernized, the striving of some of the former Warsaw Pact countries to be included in NATO structures may offer an opportunity to Polish arms exporters.

These countries must adapt their equipment standards to those that are binding in the West. We also must do that in Poland. It does not seem that, given the huge expense involved, the currently used equipment can be completely replaced in the near future. What is more likely is that, at least in the case of some part of former equipment, attempts will be made to adapt it to the new requirements. If our arms industry is capable of making suitable proposals and bids for such retrofitting—and it is being prompted to by the needs of our own military—it could markedly expand its potential markets, specializing in fields very attractive to them.

But time is at a premium. Other countries of the former Eastern bloc are no less interested in developing similar "specialization." In the former Soviet republics, according to calculations of the Bonn International Center for Conversion, by the end of 1998, 5.9 million people may lose their jobs unless a way is found to exploit the capabilities of the arms industry plants existing there. Slovakia also is in a difficult situation. Within its boundaries is located sixty percent of the arms industry of the former Czechoslovakia, and there is no

way that capacity can be utilized for that country's own needs alone.

Above all, however, the long-range and promising solution is the retooling and diversification of the productive capacities of the arms sector. That is because, in view of the ongoing detente, there simply does not exist any realistic basis for expecting that the arms demand would ever be as great as it used to be, and where that demand exists it is already being satisfied to a growing extent by several dozen huge Western corporations (40 companies of this kind account for one-third of the arms output of Western Europe, not to mention the arms industry in the United States). Retooling consists in the total or partial conversion of manufacturing plants, research and development centers, and other companies and institutions linked to the manufacture of defense products and services, to civilian production. Diversification consists in the absorption, partially or entirely, of the productive capacity of military industries by civilian industries, which are beginning to set the tone and utilizing that capacity for their own needs. The optimal situation is considered to be when military orders account for about 30 percent of output and civilian orders for about 70 percent.

Such a solution is quite feasible also in Polish conditions. Prof. Grudzewski characterizes the idea of "civilianizing" our arms industry as follows: "Every country has the obligation of safeguarding a minimum of national security, and this requires an appropriate industrial base. But it is clear that the arms industry cannot survive by supplying the Army alone. However, arms production can be combined with allied production for civilian purposes, utilizing similar materials, facilities, and skills. The list of products with such features is long: facilities for environmental protection, construction machinery, optoelectronics, precision mechanics, road construction machinery, railway equipment, many chemicals, etc.... Such is the direction in which the problems of our arms industry can be solved to avert its outright physical and economic liquidation."

"Moreover," Prof. Grudzewski emphasizes, "this is a way of attracting foreign capital to this industry. Of course, without violating our national sovereignty as regards defense, that capital may successfully, on resorting to the holding company approach, be invested in the civilian departments of the plants linked to the military, thus securing profits for itself and appropriate benefits for us." Such an 'injection' of capital, bolstering the status of some 30 enterprises specializing in military production, (50 have already changed the nature of their operations and their status) would also provide an added momentum for the expansion of exports of goods that are no longer of a military nature but based on the techniques, technologies, expertise, and skills of plant personnel, developed at a time when these plants had been entirely, or almost entirely, suppliers of weaponry. Arms production has always required highly demanding standards, and as such it is a good school when typically civilian markets are about to be entered.

Poland: Initiatives To Form New Leftist Groups Explored

WS2503152096 Warsaw GAZETA SWIATECZNA in Polish 23-24 Mar 96 p 2

[Article by Dominika Wielowieyska: "Postcommunists and Others; Will There Be a Different Left Wing?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] It is not only the right wing that wants to unite. The past few weeks have seen a veritable explosion of ideas regarding left-wing agreements and coalitions.

As a coalition and the biggest club in the parliament, the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD] consists of many minor parties and organizations, which are dominated by the Social Democracy of the Polish Republic [SdRP]. Even though its rating in public opinion polls is very high, the SLD has not settled for what it has already achieved. Recently, it gained a Christian label by allowing the Christian-Social Union to become a part of its structure; the union is headed by Kazimierz Morawski, who was once an activist of the National Unity Front.

At the same time, Jan Mulak and Piotr Ikonowicz's Polish Socialist Party [PPS], which is linked to the postcommunists, proposes establishment of a center-left coalition: the SLD, the Polish Peasant Party [PSL], the Union of Labor [UP], and the PPS. Here is what Leszek Miller, deputy chairman of the SdRP, said at the PPS congress: "To be successful in the parliamentary elections, the left wing must resemble a group of streams that merge to form a river with a strong current. Both the SdRP and the PPS are such streams," he added modestly. No one doubts, however, that in this river there would be only one primary "current": the SdRP.

For a moment one might have thought that the strong position of the SLD might be shaken by the All-Polish Trade Union Agreement [OPZZ]. Union Chairwoman Ewa Spychalska criticized Oleksy's party. The OPZZ spoke about possible cooperation with the PSL and UP. Wojciech Borowik of UP said the following: "A coalition of the OPZZ and UP would not be forever. UP is prepared to field unionists on its lists." Similar statements were also made by Deputy OPZZ Chairman Stanislaw Wisniewski. However, dreams about separating the unionists from the SLD proved to be unrealistic. The OPZZ has already signed an agreement with

Oleksy's SdRP regarding joint electoral lists in the parliamentary elections.

How To Oppose the Postcommunists

UP is trying to weaken the SLD's influence. It is afraid that in the next elections it will be crushed by two huge camps: the center-right solidarity camp, which will also include the Freedom Union [UW], and the postcommunist bloc.

Therefore, the UP Youth Federation has published an open letter addressed to UP leaders as well as to Zofia Kuratowska, Wladyslaw Frasyniuk, Jacek Kuron of UW, Karol Modzelewski, Lidia Ciolkoszowa (who is an emigre PPS activist), Jan Mulak of the PPS, and Paris KULTURA chief editor Jerzy Giedroyc. "We will decide whether the Polish left wing will always be associated with the heirs of the antidemocratic practices of the Polish People's Republic, or the value, ethos, and culture-creating role of the left wing will make a new mark in social consciousness," the young members of UP wrote; they also added that "it is still too early" to form a new party.

Three days ago, Kuratowska, Kuron, and Modzelewski replied to this appeal: "We are aware of the responsibility we bear for what you referred to as the ethos and the culture-creating role of the left wing, as well as for the democratic-liberal social values (...) We propose an above-party, center-left agreement to implement these values." In an interview for RZECZPOSPOLITA, Jacek Kuron explains that the act of establishing a party does not really form it. According to him, there must be a social movement of local activity that could actually create such a party.

There Will Not Be a New Left-Wing Party

Despite the many declarations and letters, the left wing will probably remain unchanged. The OPZZ decision dispelled whatever was left of the hopes cherished by UP activists, who thought that the SLD might split. UP does not want to be part of a coalition with the SLD. On the other hand, establishment of a new party one year before the elections would be tantamount to suicide. Voters must have enough time to become familiar with the name of a party, its insignia, and its leaders. It is highly unlikely that the leftist-liberal part of UW will decide to form a new organization with UP. Wladyslaw Frasyniuk (UW) definitely rejects this idea.

Incidentally, is there really a demand for a new party? After all, there already is a left-wing party independent of the SLD: UP. This group will have to take a difficult test in the parliamentary elections, which will show whether there is room today for a left wing that is not linked to the postcommunists.

Poland: Smuggling of Disassembled Cars Reported

96EP0035A Warsaw RYNKI ZAGRANICZNE in Polish 17 Feb 96 No 21, p 8

[Article by G.C.: "Legal Cheating: Car Imports"]

[FBIS Translated Text] According to unofficial estimates, up to 100,000 cars in disassembled form are brought into Poland annually. The Main Customs Office believes that the losses due to the importation of such cars amount to about 150 million new zlotys.

In Poland there is great demand for imported foreign cars. Unfortunately, the related duties and taxes are so steep as to affect unfavorably the volume of official imports. Currently the basic levy on car imports is as much as 35 percent. It cannot be lower than 1,250 ECU's [European Currency Units] for cars that are up to four years old. For older cars a duty of at least ECU2,500 must be paid.

Importers bringing in cars from EU countries are in a privileged position. In this case the duty is 25 percent, the minimum rate being ECU893 for cars up to four years old and twice as much for older cars. But these fees, too, do not encourage the growth of imports to an extent that would meet the demand of potential buyers in Poland, being still too high to make it worthwhile to import foreign cars without resorting to criminal actions or ordinary fraud.

The optimal form of car imports is quotas. However, last year they were filled as early as in the first three months. For the present year only a few thousand out of the 37,000 slots under the quotas still remain vacant. At this rate the quotas will be filled almost twice as fast as a year ago.

Cars belong in the "Exceptions" merchandise category. This means that they are protected by duties the longest. It is likely that in trade with EU countries the customs barriers on cars will be abolished in the year 2002.

Given the considerable demand, the high customs barriers, and quotas that are too low in relation to demand, the existing situation affords opportunities for clever crooks. For years now, cars have been the most valuable contraband. In the first 11 months of 1995, a total of 6,272 related proceedings were instituted, and the value of the confiscated motor vehicles totaled $33.5 million.

The methods for cheating the Treasury through the large-scale smuggling of cars are becoming increasingly refined and ever more difficult to uncover. Smugglers/importers have lately been employing a "linked"

method. They import cars legally under official permits but resort to deceit because they first dismantle the cars into parts, thus they pay lower duties.

The new tariff, mandatory since 1 January 1996, provides for much lower duties on automotive parts. Thus, the basic duty on an engine is 11 percent, or, in the case of an engine imported from the EU, barely 6.6 percent. The duties on other parts are 15 percent, or, if imported from the EU, 9 percent.

For disassembled cars the import tax and VAT [value-added tax] are lower, because the value of a dismantled vehicle is lower than that of an assembled one, and the taxes paid are assessed according to dutiable value. This also makes it possible to evade the excise tax levied on luxury cars whose dutiable value exceeds ECU7,000.

Romania: Nastase Discusses PDSR's Electoral Campaign

AU2503154996 Bucharest JURNALUL NATIONAL in Romanian 12 Mar 96 pp 16-17

[Part one of interview with Adrian Nastase, speaker of the Chamber of Deputies of the Romanian Parliament and PDSR executive president, by Anne Juganaru: place and date not given: "For Some People, We Should Have Remained Labeled as a Neocommunist, Cryptocommunist, Conservative, and Shabby Party"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Juganaru] We have not forgotten that you like "baklava," Mr. Adrian Nastase. JURNALUL NATIONAL is offering them to you again, hoping that their honey will sweeten a little the possibly uncomfortable issues that we are going to bring up. And because I know that time is pressing, let us start with the questions: Has the Social Democracy Party of Romania [PDSR] begun its electoral campaign?

[Nastase] The PDSR could not begin its electoral campaign in the legal sense of the word. As it is going to be defined by the law, the electoral campaign will first of all give certain special rights as far as the presentation of messages on television and radio is concerned. Currently we are carrying out and completing political activity in the provinces, which neither we nor the other parties have done for many years. It is true that we have started earlier than the other parties. Until recently a sort of stereotype has prevailed there, meaning that the political life is reduced to news conferences held in Bucharest or meetings of the central party bodies. In reality, political life should attract all areas in the provinces. We were the first ones who realized this. However, if you follow our actions in the past few months, you will notice that they have not concentrated only—with a few exceptions—on the outside of the party organizations. We have visited the provinces in order to carry out a technical verification of our organizations before the electoral campaign. We met with our organizations and with party members. We did not go out in the streets and did not organize rallies.

[Juganaru] However, you visited many enterprises in the respective regions, and your political adversaries accuse you of trying to turn all objectives, institutions, and bodies that you met on your way into pro-PDSR organizations. How could one interpret these visits?

[Nastase] I am glad that you raised this issue, because here is an aspect that I have to explain. I believe that many ministers traveled more abroad than at home. And this is not normal. We believe that it is imperative that the government get to know better the reality prevailing in the enterprises. These actions in the provinces, and this wish to see what the concrete problems are, are of course disturbing for some people. However, this is the only way to attempt to solve problems, and I think it is not enough simply to see statistics and general data. Some people could perhaps reproach us that we are trying too late with this action, but it is absolutely normal. This does not represent just a party action. No doubt it also has a political side, because this government is ours and we "pay" for what it achieves or does not achieve. But such an action at the level of ministers and secretaries of state is definitely normal within the act of ruling.

[Juganaru] Often people accuse you of coercing certain directors to join the ranks of the PDSR. If this is the case, doesn't such an act involve certain risks?

[Nastase] Things are being exaggerated in this respect, too. However, I can tell you that many of the problems we have had arise from the "enthusiasm" of certain local party leaders, who believe they are doing a good deed if they force the hand of a director or another person who was perhaps not thinking the way we do. The advantages in these cases are minimal, and I think these represent political mistakes. Certainly, we also thought of increasing the number of our party members, but not by taking people away from other political formations. There are still many people who have not yet joined any party, and therefore this group of people still represents a sufficiently large area. On the other hand, we do not wish to increase the risks derived from the inherent opportunism connected with a certain temptation to get closer to the ruling party. In any event, this risk does exist, and if we are enlarging this opportunist area, we are virtually weakening the force of the party. I can tell you that at the level of the leadership we have never given such recommendations. However, I cannot state that this policy of ours is very clear in the provinces. Some of our colleagues feel that they should make their actions somehow legitimate at the local level by bringing such people into the party. Thus I do not rule out that there are various small games at the local level that we are unable to control very well, and which can provoke this feeling at a broader level. We are much more interested in people at the middle level in an enterprise, such as foremen, technicians, and engineers, that is, people who are leaders of opinions, because they have a clear political option.

[Juganaru] However, the significance of this question is different, namely that the PSDR is grabbing all the levers.

[Nastase] This would be a very risky action. It is true that this has been said. But let us examine this issue

together. Let us say that a director comes to us. What would be the advantage of such a move?

[Juganaru] Could you not control the respective area in every way through that director?

[Nastase] It is not sure that we could. Those who are familiar with internal mechanisms know very well that although theoretically, one counts on a certain number of votes, in reality this act is individual and nobody can control it. People in a certain enterprise have their own options and will no longer vote the way they think their director will. This is just a fiction that some people who get involved in politics believe. We do not believe that if a factory director with 5,000 employees joins our party, we are going to win 5,000 votes. This is stupid. Apart from this, there is a pretty high risk involved, because when a director joins the PSDR we are practically risking the politicization of all the difficulties of the respective enterprise, without gaining much as far as votes go. Sometimes the expenses are higher than the possible benefits. [passage omitted]

Romania: Nastase Views Alliances, Foreign Policy

AU2503185096 Bucharest JURNALUL NATIONAL in Romanian 13 Mar 96 pp 16-17

[Part two of interview with Adrian Nastase, speaker of the Chamber of Deputies of the Romanian Parliament and PDSR executive president, by Anne Juganaru: place and date not given: "If Russia Says We Are in Its Zone of Influence, We Can Also Say That Russia Is in Our Zone of Influence"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Juganaru] Privatization through coupons has received all kinds of qualifiers from the entire political spectrum. Mr. Adrian Nastase, from your viewpoint—that is, from the viewpoint of a person who was close to those who conceived this system of privatization—what is the reason for people's apathy toward this action?

[Nastase] I do not have a very clear image of it. We will discuss this issue at the next meeting of the PDSR [Social Democracy Party of Romania] Standing Delegation in order to obtain more accurate information. I believe that a mistake was made in the parliament when those mediation companies were not accepted, because they could have taken over a great part of the effort of collecting coupons and turning them into shares. In this way the assistance of the FPP [Private Property Fund] will be considered. I do not know whether it will be good or bad; it is difficult for me to pass judgment at this hour. However, I continue to believe that had there been a certain number of such mediation companies, the effort would have been distributed, and the efficiency would have been higher. It is difficult to judge now what was decided then. We will have to decide what can be done in this month. However, it is a pity that the public was not won over psychologically to the privatization process. [passage omitted]

[Juganaru] Mr. President, recently the attacks against the PDSR have been launched mainly from the left and by the party's former or more current allies. To what extent do the protocols concluded with the PSM [Socialist Party of Labor] and the PUNR [Romanian National Unity Party] still work?

[Nastase] What is happening now I virtually predicted a few months ago. It is clear that all kind of attempts are being made to obtain as many advantages as possible through various messages that are being conveyed, or through the candidates for the position of president, that would bring the respective formation increasingly closer to the public's attention. As far as the PRM [Greater Romania Party] is concerned, things are pretty clear: They not only attack us, but they attack us constantly. We will discuss this issue during the Standing Delegation's meeting, because we will have to react to all this.

[Juganaru] As you referred to the PRM, what will your answer be to the recent sensation-seeking remark made by PRM leader Vadim Tudor, in connection with some votes that were marked in favor of the PADS and of President Iliescu in the 1992 elections?

[Nastase] I do not have time to follow all the bombs launched by the Greater Romania Party. I cannot waste my time with such issues, perhaps there are others who can. As far as the PSM [Socialist Party of Labor] is concerned, from our viewpoint the problem is simple. There has been a four-party protocol, and we have to examine in what working state it is currently. We have to see whether there are still lines that link us to that protocol, or whether there are still understandings that have to be respected. For the time being, what we are noticing is the fact that they have forgotten that they still have some of their own people on the team that is "playing out on the field." Could they possibly forget about their own people? That is the question. This is an issue that we do not completely understand and that we have to discuss together. Certainly, it could suit some people very well to criticize the government and vote against it. Nevertheless, we have to remind PSM members that they have at least two prefects, but also other people, who belong to the government structures.

[Juganaru] To what extent do you still rely on the PSM and the PUNR [Romanian National Unity Party] in the parliament?

[Nastase] Their votes are no longer reliable, because they are granted exclusively according to party interests. Therefore, I could not say that there still is an alliance according to joint initiatives. There will be votes granted according to circumstances for one initiative or another. As far as the PUNR is concerned, the connection is a little bit stronger, but all kinds of problems are emerging here, too. For example, Mr. [Ioan] Gavra [PUNR vice president], has launched a very strong attack against the FPS [State Property Fund], attacking principles. According to his remarks, there are terrible things happening here. I am perfectly aware of the fact that there are operational problems. These are problems that we have been discussing for several years. But Mr. Gavra is saying that this sudden anger he feels comes from the fact that the head of the FPS Timis County has been replaced, and he was a PUNR member. [passage omitted]

[Juganaru] How much do you think the PDSR's electoral campaign will cost?

[Nastase] It is difficult to say. We do not even attempt to predict the expenses at a central level, because we will work according to a noncentralized system, which means that the counties will have to ensure their own resources for the electoral campaign. Thus, at a central level, the expenses will be limited to some projects of prime interest. We worked in the same way during the party's national conference. Each county organization paid by itself for the participation expenses. I thing that it was a very good experience.

[Juganaru] As a former foreign minister, what is your opinion about the results of the parliamentary elections in Russia? Do you see a concrete influence of the concept of "near security" launched by Gennadiy Zyuganov, currently the most popular person in Russia, on our country ?

[Nastase] This process of political fervor in Russia has not concluded yet. It will continue throughout 1996. Things have somehow reached midway, and are still very hot. The preelectoral campaign, connected mainly with the presidential elections, will continue to mark domestic political life in Russia. Wonders cannot be achieved in the economic and social areas. Certainly, Zyuganov and his party have won by criticizing what went before. Currently they have control in the parliament. And they will have to prove that their election was worthwhile, and they will have to justify this in the domestic arena, something that will not be easy. I do not know how, or to what extent they will succeed. In the upcoming period they will try to combine very well the messages connected with internal developments with those connected with Russia's reconstruction as a big power, which for the ordinary citizen means a lot. The idea of prestige, of Russia's functioning as a big power, will be very attractive. And this idea will be used by virtually all the political forces, especially by this segment that has won the parliamentary elections. In this game certainly all kinds of declarations will be heard regarding, first of all, the first circle, that is, the CIS countries and then the second circle, that is, the former socialist countries, as it used to be defined in Russian policy. The concept of "near security" can be shattered in no time. The security of a state is the security of its own territory. The security interests for a certain region can be discussed in other terms. The concept of "near security" virtually has no justification. However, there was talk about the "near abroad" precisely in order to justify theses issues for the Baltic countries and for the countries in the former communist zone. For Russia the "near abroad" in a way also means China. If Russia says that we belong to its zone of influence, we can also say that Russia is in our zone of influence.

[Juganaru] The issue in fact is connected with our country's intention to join NATO. That is where those bellicose "Zhirinovskiy-type" declarations and statements made by other extremist Russian politicians originate. I would therefore like to ask you: Is there any danger in this concept of "near security" launched by Russia?

[Nastase] There are things that we cannot avoid, because there are people there, too, who survive internally on this type of extremism, just the way there are such people in our country as well. And we should not be under the illusion that we will ever be able to escape from these problems.

[Juganaru] However, the ordinary Romanian citizen perceives all these problems with increasing fear, and raises questions that are justified, if we think of the historical background.

[Nastase] Certainly; this is inevitable. But all these things will work even more in favor of our integration into NATO. I believe that this is what the people in Russia who are perhaps the supporters of this type of reaction do not understand. We, at a broader political level, must demonstrate that our act of joining NATO should not be interpreted as an act directed against Russia. We have to explain very clearly our traditions and orientations, as well as our frustrations. And here we are talking about the entire central European zone, not only about Romania. We are talking about the risks involved in the act of our uncoupling from a certain framework and the fact that we can no longer stay a buffer zone between two areas of integration. These things can be explained. The process of NATO expansion is not very simple, and there will always be

pressure and blackmail. And the events such as elections in Russia and the United States, relations with NATO countries, and interests connected with Ukraine, will also count in this process.

[Juganaru] And as you mentioned the presidential elections in the United States, what would be more beneficial for us, a Republican or a Democrat in the White House?

[Nastase] You know me quite well enough to realize that I am not going to answer such a question. However, I can tell you categorically that the relations between Romania and the United States are more important than that they could depend on who is going to win the elections.

[Juganaru] I risked asking such a question, although the answer from a person who was an active diplomat was to be predicted. Mr. Nastase, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, through its nature, tradition, and activity, is pretty difficult to understand. There are many people who currently do not understand what the people who are conducting the negotiations on the accord with Ukraine are working toward. Are they working for Serpents Island to be returned to us, or toward broadening our territorial waters?

[Nastase] If we were to work purely for domestic policy interests, then we would support the idea of having all the territories that once belonged to Romania returned. This is the most simple policy and the one that brings the greatest benefits. However, this is not possible. We can get angry with U.S. Ambassador Moses for what he said. However, he also made a very clear remark, among other things, in connection with Bessarabia and Bucovina. If we could permit ourselves to cross the river with our army, or if felt capable of doing it and taking back those territories, that is another issue. Maybe the PNTCD [National Peasant Christian-Democratic Party] or some other party will come to power and will resolve this problem of Serpents Island, as well as other problems. It is one thing to discuss the validity of some understandings, their moral nature, and the fact that they were concluded through violation of the rules of international law. And it is something else to discuss today's realities and future possibilities. Certainly, we can stick to a certain issue, such as the issue of regaining North Bucovina; however, we encounter here the interests of another country. And that is a young country that has territorial disputes with Russia, and that evidently, from its own viewpoint, cannot accept a discussion about borders. This is very clear. Currently the population of North Bucovina does not include more than 15 percent Romanians. Things have to be taken as they really are. In our country, some politicians prefer to make all kinds of bellicose statements, instead of supporting the Romanians who are still living there and offering them concrete assistance to preserve their identity. This is our mistake, and I think we should concentrate of different aspects.

In connection with Serpents Island, we have other interests connected with the continental shelf and the demarcation of territorial waters in the Black Sea. Our interests differ from those of Ukraine on this issue, and this aspect could have been noticed during the negotiation of the accord. However, we also have joint interests. I believe that both we and they must make an effort to put aside those issues that we cannot solve, in order to be able to concentrate mainly on those issues that represent our joint interests. [passage omitted]

Romania: Article Examines Reasons for PDSR-PSM Split

AU2603104996 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 20 Mar 96 p 3

[Article by Serban Madgearu: "The Social Democracy Party of Romania-The Socialist Party of Labor: A Tender Divorce..."]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] A few days ago, Oliviu Gherman [president of the Social Democracy Party of Romania, PDSR] and Ilie Verdet [president of the Socialist Party of Labor, PSM] publicly announced the divorce between the PDSR and the PSM. "The protocol on our cooperation has become void," both leaders agreed, with Verdet adding that the PSM has never participated in the government. "It supported" only the government... and actually continues to support it, while criticizing it at the same time. For the time being, the government will keep the PSM prefects in office in return for the PSM "lending a helping hand" in case of need. [passage omitted]

Anyhow, the discussion between Gherman and Verdet was "open and useful." The divorce was aired in the open, while the concubinage is still on, but on the sly. This is a mutually advantageous solution in this electoral year. The PDSR needs credentials and credibility. Its association with the PSM, the Greater Romania Party, and the Romanian National Unity Party has already been paid for quite dearly by the taxpayers. For instance, both Ion Iliescu and Adrian Paunescu [PSM vice president] ask themselves why Hungary is allowed to have a $9 billion deficit, while Romania may not exceed 2 billion. There is no doubt that both politicians realize that the very presence of the "red quadrilateral" in power is part of the answer. In this electoral year, the PDSR needs more than ever before to show its "humane face" and dissociate itself, for the sake of appearances, from its

accomplices in power. If need be, it may even accuse them of having been an obstacle in the path of reforms. By breaking the pact, the PDSR is gaining both in the eyes of the West and of its own moderate electorate. By maintaining the PSM prefects in office, the PDSR is nevertheless ensuring the further discreet support of Vedet's grouping. On the other hand, the PSM can pose in 1996 as an opposition party, thus declining any responsibility for Vacaroiu's government. Maintaining the protocol with the PDSR would have been totally counterproductive for a party which primarily addresses itself to those most affected by the government's results. A total break in cooperation would have made the mending of bridges after the elections much more difficult. The PSM obviously hopes to participate in the government, alongside the PDSR, after 1996, too. Therefore, the "third road" formula theoretically chosen by Verdet in this electoral year is actually the formula of going three ways. The cooperation at the local level is maintained in an additional protocol. The intent to cooperate at the government level is being denied for electoral purposes. Cooperation in Parliament is no longer recognized officially, but it remains effective in practice.

The small "biting remarks" against Adrian Nastase [PDSR executive president] and even the PDSR itself are but a proof of love. "Qui s'aime se taquine" [French for "Those who love each other love to tease each other"], Verdet seems to be saying. The PSM's divorce from the ruling party remains a tender one.

Slovenia: Daily Views U.S. Position on Arms Embargo

AU2503143096 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 15 Mar 96 p 3

[Commentary by Vladimir Vodusek: "The Smoothening of the Embargo"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The unusually great interest in Victor Jackovich, the American ambassador in Ljubljana, who was invited to talks with both the government as well as the presidential office, hints at the fact that something is going on between us and Washington. Even before the incident concerning the purchase of military radio equipment in Israel, Jackovich supposedly tried to reach Prime Minister Drnovsek on a couple of occasions, but Drnovsek was too busy and had no time to talk. The decision to purchase Israeli radio and other equipment was not the best one, considering Slovenia's desire to join the EU [European Union] and NATO, as well as other associations, unless we are to see it as a demonstration, as some counties were still persisting with the arms embargo on Slovenia.

The decisions reached by the governmental committee regarding the controversial purchase refuted the complaints made by the American company Harris, depicting them as unfounded. However it was also noted that Harris did not have an export license for Slovenia, which must have sobered them up.

Clinton's memorandum on American military support with its special system of military sales of weapons and military equipment was, in fact, expected, and is naturally not related only to our purchase of Israeli radio equipment, but to the wider and global interests of the Americans in the Balkans. As a small military consumer, Slovenia cannot be such a challenge for their military industry for them to fight over us for business. One must look for a deeper background for the smoothing of the embargo on Slovenia and, interesting enough, the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia [FYROM].

U.S. Ambassador Victor Jackovich openly admitted in one of his interviews that "the Americans have been dealing with the breakdown of the communist empire for a long time, but were not prepared to suddenly set up relations with the numerous newly created countries, neither in a political-philosophical nor a pragmatic way." American politics have favored a united country for too long, and witnessed a bloody war that Europe was not capable of stopping, before they themselves intervened. They have been dealing with the eastern part of the former federation, which had portrayed itself as if it were the former American North, depicting the western part of the federation as the secessionist South.

After the Dayton solution to the Bosnia-Herzegovina crisis, the Americans will surely not permit such instability again—for example, on the border between Greece and FYROM or between Slovenia or Italy. The aforementioned dispute is taking place before the eyes of Washington, whose philosophy is quite simple and is based on the balance of power. That is where we could go looking for the background to military support to the FYROM as well as Slovenia, which are both in a similar situation.

The Americans have been advocating the position that the arms embargo imposed by the UN on Slovenia and Macedonia as well as Bosnia-Herzegovina, is unjust. They have, however, fully abided by it and have not sold us any weapons, apart from a few bits of military equipment. In truth, Clinton did not overtake the EU, which has already announced that it will regard its sales to former republics of the united Yugoslav country on a case by case basis. Russian President Yeltsin also lifted the embargo in the past few days.

The American interest goes further in its support to "younger countries" formed out of entities such as the SFRY [Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia] and the Soviet Union. However, it could happen that they will be late again and remain without their influence in the central European region. The memorandum from the Clinton administration is a consequence not only of good will, but also of their strategic interests in Europe and especially in the Balkans. They are trying to make amends for what they missed earlier.

The U.S. decision to sell weapons to Slovenia of course does not mean a definite lifting of the UN embargo because this still holds for heavy weaponry, which Slovenia needs most. The American decision is however not to be neglected, but our country will probably make its larger purchases after the 90-day period, when the embargo against the import of heavy weaponry is also supposed to be lifted. The Americans are forced to abide by the UN embargo as long as it is valid.

The military support is not that important for Slovenia. It will be more important for our country to be in America's favor when dealing with the question of the succession of SFRY (the Americans are currently not advocating the recognition of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia as the successor) and in the dispute with Italy, in which America's opinion will be decisive.

Slovenia: Physicians, Dentists To Continue Strike

AU2503215396 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 2100 GMT 25 Mar 96

[FBIS Translated Text] The strike of the Slovene physicians and dentists will continue tomorrow as today's negotiations between Fides [physicians and dentists trade unions] and the government negotiating team were unsuccessful. Prime Minister Janez Drnovsek today also spoke about the attitude toward the strike, the demands of Fides, and the government position. He said that the government would discuss the law on physicians this week and forward it to the State Chamber with a recommendation that the deputies pass it as soon as possible.

In connection with the demand for a 30 percent increase of the physicians' salaries, the government concluded that yielding to it would trigger an avalanche of new demands in the nonindustrial branches. The consequence of this would be a higher inflation and a disruption of the financial system. The government proposes a gradual increase of salaries, whereby until the passing of the law on physicians, which should be adopted in four months at the latest, the physicians' salaries would be raised by 17 percent. The negotiations will resume tomorrow afternoon.

The negotiations with the trade unions of health and social care, which called a general warning strike for 27 March, will resume tomorrow morning.

Slovenia: Daily Analyzes Radio, Television Strike

AU2503145796 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 19 Mar 96 p 3

[Commentary by Brane Maselj: "The Dried Up Branch of Authority"]

[FBIS Translated Text] A strike is a journalist's daily bread. When he reports about strikes, he always looks for the causes in the environment in which the dissatisfaction was created. When it is a strike for one's own daily bread, as in the case of RTVS [Radio and Television Slovenia], then the journalist does not tell his audience enough when he says that the management is not respecting the declarations of the collective agreement. Especially when facing an audience that finances his work through regular monthly payments. The management is also paid from the same source, and they will have to find the reasons for the dissatisfaction in their building sooner or later. The reasons are not hidden only in an increase or decrease in pay by just a few percent.

The complications regarding the collective agreement at RTV [Radio and Television] have been in existence for the past four years. The journalists have warned of this strike a couple of times, and also canceled it after talks with the management. It is obvious that the decision for to strike in an occupation such as that of the journalists is a very important one. They have had enough. Just like the doctors, who are beginning their strike on Thursday. Since there will be no one to report about it, probably none of the patients will die. It may be possible to improve the position of some, but the RTVS strike will surely not have a healthy effect.

Regardless of the outcome, the basic questions, related to the continued existence and direction of the institution, will not be solved, as they are not even being dealt with. The fact that RTVS is no longer the only television station, and that it is not the central RTV institution anymore, as well as that it is being more or less left to itself, has obviously left lasting consequences on its health. Slovene RTV was founded, through its programming base, as an integrational factor of the society, country and nation. As RTVS has often emphasized, they were there to strengthen the national identity in the social awareness. The increasing of awareness was supposed to be their most important task apart from reporting. Television Slovenia celebrated its 10,000th main daily newscast last year in a very grand manner, almost in spite of the numerous criticisms made regarding its general appearance. On this occasion it was often said that the idea of a main newscast in the Slovene language brought about an important addition of national awareness. The employees of Slovene Television [TVS], while grandiosely proving that they are still living in the time of the first daily newscast, overlooked the fact that apart from bringing about national awareness, they also brought class, ideological and doctrinal awareness.

RTVS forgot all about the political side of the increase of awareness along with all other institutions of national importance. At the same time, however, it was prepared, when necessary, to forget the national benefits. For example when it turned off the medium wave transmitters in the Prekmurje and Primorska regions out of protest, only to make the public aware of the fact that the government had not taken care of its debt towards the RTVS! These transmitters are an important link with Slovenes living across the borders and elsewhere in Europe. If nothing else, the art of communication with the public in such and similar situations was far from the tactful and sophisticated approach that should be expected from the most powerful television company. A similar situation occurred when the TVS did not pay 500 million for the maintenance of transformers, which left Slovenes in Italy without the TV Koper-Capodistria signal. The interventions of the heads of RTV in pub-

lic have become more common, in relation to the increase of internal problems. These interventions often come too late or are awkward. The loss, for example, is blamed sometimes on the government for being late with its payments, and sometimes the RTV council for not approving an increase in subscription prices, and sometimes the legislature. The company itself, which cannot even calculate the cost of individual production units, is never to blame.

The satellite is a story by itself, and is undoubtedly a project of national importance. TVS has not succeeded in reaching outer space for the last couple of years, although even Bosnia-Herzegovina began transmitting on the Eutelsat satellite not long ago. Those responsible for this matter at TVS have only recently said that this is due to technical problems, and now there seem to be political problems. The same is apparently true regarding the frequencies, where the national television lost out. RTVS is also not glad about the competition, which was supposedly enabled through the legislature. As if RTVS has been asleep for all these years, lost in its own importance, and now does not know how to go on. With all the complaining, the RTV public institution has totally overlooked, or maybe even withheld, the simple fact that they have, and have had, as an institution, all the authority to make suggestions and to act as necessary, according to their national significance. This authority was given to them by parliament. Moreover, it is not said in vain that the media are the fourth branch of authority. A media giant such as RTVS should itself be a constant threat to competition and any kind of policies that would create obstacles for it, and not stumble by itself. Considering the media restructuring of the society that the RTVS calls powerlessness, it is logical that they have a notorious fear of party interference. Until this institution finds a way to go on, they will be an easy prey for politics. The question is only how much it is worth.

Federal

FRY: Milutinovic Assesses Significance of Moscow Meeting

AU2303211996 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 23 Mar 96

[Interview with Yugoslav Foreign Minister Milan Milutinovic by Zoran Jevdjovic in Moscow on 23 March—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Milutinovic] I think this has been the first Contact Group meeting at the ministerial level since the one held in Paris and that it has this time devoted great attention to the so-called civilian aspects of the peace agreement and virtually all of these aspects ranging from the reconstruction of Bosnia-Herzegovina to the return of refugees, and particularly the elections.

I think that the basic conclusion of the meeting was that elections are very important for the overall peace process on the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina; that the elections, full and democratic elections, should be held as soon as possible; and, another question that unfortunately came to the fore only today and should have long been solved is the issue of prisoner release. All sides are keeping about 220 prisoners, something which is unacceptable as the war has ended, and they should all be released. This is one of the very significant conclusions of today's meeting.

[Jevdjovic] What does this insistence on fair and democratic elections that should be held as soon as possible mean?

[Milutinovic] That means that with these elections, all structures will in fact achieve their legality in both entities, then it will be possible to implement the Dayton agreement in its entirety regarding the constitutional setup of Bosnia-Herzegovina, which would, of course, return confidence among citizens and all the people in Bosnia, particularly refugees who could return as soon as possible. Therefore, the elections are something that everything is revolving around. It is the question of questions—the priority question in solving the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[Jevdjovic] The other concrete question is the one on prisoners' release. Have the participants obligated themselves to do so?

[Milutinovic] Yes, both [corrects himself] all sides have obligated themselves before everybody to do so virtually at once. After all, this is an obligation from Geneva, since some time ago. It was agreed there that all prisoners be released by 23 March, that is, today. All right, all sides have their problems and technical difficulties. However, that must not represent an excuse and all prisoners should be released.

[Jevdjovic] Finally, you had a number of bilateral meetings here, with your counterparts, the ministers.

[Milutinovic] Yes, I talked with Kinkel, with de Charrette, with Mrs. Agnelli, with Granic, with Minister Prlic, with virtually all the ministers who attended this meeting.

[Jevdjovic] And is there some common conclusion that you could (?point out)?

[Milutinovic] The common conclusion is a great expectation of everybody I talked with that Yugoslavia continue to make such a contribution to the peace process, virtually the greatest in this entire situation. They expect us to further persevere in the civilian implementation of the Dayton agreement. Of course, there was much talk about bilateral problems, concrete ones, from one country to another, and with every country individually. These were very comprehensive talks. Of course, the talks with Mrs. Agnelli were somewhat broader and dealt with EU activity and the cooperation between Yugoslavia and the EU, so it was a very interesting and significant talk.

[Jevdjovic] Thank you.

[Milutinovic] Not at all.

Serbia

Serbia: Police Said 'Processing' Hague Tribunal Witnesses

AU2503204696 Sarajevo VECERNJE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian 22 Mar 96 p 5

[Unattributed report: "Serbian 'Processing' of Witnesses"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Two arrested members of Mladic's paramilitary will be extradited to the tribunal in The Hague by the end of the month, but it is not known in what physical condition they will arrive or whether they will be able to take part in the investigation of war crimes, Western intelligence circles claim.

On 3 March, the Serb [FRY] police arrested Drazen Erdemovic and Radoslav Kremenovic, members of the Bosnian Serb Army, who are now being held at the prison in Novi Sad. The Western intelligence circles claim that Erdemovic and Kremenovic are being "processed" by Serbian special police and that by the time of their extradition they will not be able to testify to war crimes committed by Bosnian Serbs against civilians.

Erdemovic and Kremenovic were arrested only after they had confirmed the execution of 1,200 men from

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Srebrenica in an interview for the U.S. ABC Television network and expressed a desire to be extradited to The Hague for their own safety. The video tape with the interview was confiscated by the Serbian police from a U.S. journalist when leaving Serbia. The two witnesses disappeared immediately thereafter, but, under the pressure put by the International Tribunal for War Crimes, the Serbian authorities admitted that Erdemovic and Kremenovic are being held in the Novi Sad prison.

The fate of the suspended sanctions against Serbia depends on the cooperation of the Serbian regime with The Hague. However, Milosevic is hoping that he will be able to have his cake and eat it, too. The Serbian special police know many ways, devised at the Belgrade Institute for Security, to mistreat people and destroy human mental and physical capabilities. Erdemovic and Kremenovic have probably been "softened" by drugs that have a weakening effect on the willpower and memory. The main goal is to show to The Hague their propensity for hallucination, which would prove their incapability to testify against big shots like Mladic, Karadzic, and other Bosnian Serb commanders.

Serbia: Arkan Vows To Fight Extradition to Hague Tribunal

AU2503173396 Belgrade NASA BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 25 Mar 96 p 4

[Article by Z.M.: "I Do Not Recognize The Hague Tribunal"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Zvecan—Speaking two night ago at his party's gathering in the Kosmet [Kosovo and Metohija] commune of Zvecan in front of several hundred citizens, Zeljko Raznatovic Arkan, chairman of the Party of Serb Unity [SSJ], presented the program with which his party will run in the elections.

As he told the gathered citizens, the SSJ is committed to the unification of all Serb lands with the center in Belgrade. According to Raznatovic, the SSJ is also committed to the creation of a professional Serb army and police force, whose academy would be in the Kosmet commune of Glogovac, where only two Serbs live.

Asked by a NASA BORBA correspondent what he would do if President Milosevic was to try and extradite him to The Hague Tribunal as a potential war criminal, Raznatovic said that he did not recognize The Hague Tribunal as a legal institution since, as he said, it was only sitting in judgment on the Serbs.

"If the president tries to extradite me or any of my fighters, we will—and you can be sure of this—defend them with all means available. Our view is clear: There are no Serb crimes in this war since we were only defending ourselves."

Serbia: Commentary Views 'Quarrel' Between Karadzic, Army

AU2503184896 Novi Sad DNEVNIK in Serbo-Croatian 19 Mar 96 p 5

[Commentary by Milan Bozokin: "Karadzic's (Dis)regard of the Army"]

[FBIS Translated Text] After a relatively long silence, there is once again a (public) quarrel between the military and the political leadership of the Serb Republic. The "front" was this time opened by Milan Gvero, the deputy commander of the General Staff of the Serb Republic Army, who, in two interviews he gave last week, accused Radovan Karadzic, the president of the Serb Republic, and the political leadership of a series of mistakes and misdeeds they made during the three-and-a-half-year war in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

General Gvero told correspondents that Karadzic's administration did not give the armed forces the appropriate financial help, especially to soldiers wounded in the war and to the families of the killed soldiers: "There are attempts to excuse everything by the lack of money. I do not accept such an answer since I know that it is only partially true," Gvero said. He also accused Karadzic and the ruling Serbian Democratic Party of creating a rift between the civilian police and the army by favoring the police both financially and in the official media: "The participation of a small police unit is often, regardless of the combat effect—which is, in any case, useful—favored in the media, so that the impression is created that the whole police force is fighting," Gen. Gvero says.

The deputy commander of General Staff of the Serb Republic Army criticized Karadzic for trying to intensify ties with opposition parties in Serbia, while at the same time relying on financial help from the Serbian Government. "The attempts to behave in such a way are proof of political immaturity. I am not speaking about single political parties, but about the state policy. The United States would also not be inclined toward us if we talked more with its former statesmen than with the present administration. We cannot expect Serbia and Montenegro to help us if there are contacts and cooperation with those who oppose the present leadership," Gen. Gvero said.

Attack on Officers

In an interview, Mladic's assistant for moral, religious, and political issues [Gvero] especially considered Karadzic and the state leadership's attitude toward the

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officers of the Army of the Serb Republic. "I have never liked their negative attitude toward the officers. They have never missed an opportunity to insult these people, although they knew that the officers were highly professional, well organized, and good commanders, and that a large number of them were killed or wounded in this war, and that some of them have lost a leg or an arm. This negative attitude toward the commanders and the army in general, its relative neglect, forced us to demand that the state solve that problem. We have never wanted to start a coup, we have always wanted to show through arguments that certain things can be solved. Karadzic considered dismissing Mladic for a long time. He announced that publicly without consulting us," Gen. Milan Gvero said.

The conflict between the military and the civilian leadership of the Serb Republic has lasted for 11 months now. Their open disagreement started on 15 April 1995 at the session of the National Assembly in Sanski Most. Mladic complained of the difficult situation of the Army of the Serb Republic and set, as he said, "25 minimum requirements in order to save the people and to somehow create the state." Among other things, he required that a state of war be declared, that the borders of the Serb Republic be defined, that the Army of the Serb Republic be given priority in fuel and food supplies, that all hard-currency accounts within and outside the Serb Republic be frozen, in order to import new weapons and pay soldiers' wages with that money.... The deputies interpreted these requirements as a coup attempt and refused to discuss them.

Four months later, Karadzic tried to dismiss Ratko Mladic by giving him the vague position of an adviser. This attempt failed because the entire General Staff supported the commander. After that, Karadzic withdrew his decision, and the army ceased to charge the civilian leadership with corruption and the undermining of combat readiness. Both sides stated that all disagreements had been overcome and that everything was all right. In fact, there never was a reconciliation: The parties to the conflict only arranged a truce.

Karadzic Dismisses Again?

A new conflict came on 15 October 1995 at the session of the National Assembly in Banja Luka. The deputies decided to dismiss and pension off Gen. Milan Gvero, Gen. Zdravko Tolimir, Gen. Djordje Djukic, Gen. Grujo Boric, and Lieutenant Colonel Milan Milutinovic. They were charged with "arrogant behavior and mistakes in the performance of their tasks," which made them responsible for the heavy losses of the Army of the Serb Republic last autumn. The information war started again, but passions calmed soon after that. The officers who should have been dismissed are still performing the duties they performed before 15 October 1995, except Gen. Djukic who was arrested and transferred to The Hague.

After the Dayton peace agreement was signed, the tensions in the Serb Republic have lessened, however, in the four peaceful months, the Serb Republic has not made any considerable progress. This is quite understandable, since it has been destroyed by the war, and the sanctions were lifted only recently. Under the new circumstances, Karadzic has probably decided to complete the tasks he started to undertake last October. Recently, the president of the Serb Republic spent several days in Banja Luka, where he met with several generals from the army leadership. It can be heard from the circles close to the Bosnian Serb leadership that Karadzic again initiated moves for the dismissal of Gen. Milan Gvero and Gen. Zdravko Tolimir within the talks about the reorganization of the army. Karadzic has military support in Krajina—of Momir Talic, the commander of the 1st Krajina Corps, and Manojlo Milovanovic, the chief of the General Staff of the Army of the Serb Republic. By the way, Karadzic has had Milovanic in mind as Mladic's successor for a long time.

The civilian leadership of the Serb Republic now has major problems with the accommodation of the refugees from the Serbian districts of Sarajevo that remained within the Muslim-Croatian federation. The army is in the background again. Nobody seems to care for the soldiers. This was probably the motive for Gen. Milan Gvero to make his statements, since the people are getting increasingly impatient in anticipation of changes for the better. If the state leadership is incapable of providing the accommodation for the people and enabling them to survive, it should withdraw and allow more capable and less discredited people—and there are certainly such people in the Serb Republic—to come to power. It cannot be assumed that the United States will defend their country, or that the UNHCR [UN High Commissioner for Refugees] will feed the people. Such a calculation is incorrect and its price could be very high.

Serbia: DS Claims Milosevic Violated Constitution

AU2503214796 Belgrade NASA BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 15 Mar 96 p 5

[Article by "Z.R.": "Milosevic Has Violated Constitution"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Kragujevac—"On the basis of Article 156 of the Rules of Procedure of the People Assembly of Serbia, we are forwarding a proposal for a motion to replace the president of the Republic of

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Serbia, together with the explanation...." This was stated in the initiative of the DS [Democratic Party] deputy caucus sent to Dragan Tomic, chairman of the People's Assembly of Serbia, on 8 March.

According to NASA BORBA's sources, this initiative went into the assembly procedure yesterday. The DS expects this issue to put be put before the deputies during the assembly's first spring session scheduled to start on 19 March. The explanation of the initiative, which will be presented in the assembly by a DS deputy from Kragujevac, Borivoje Radic, stresses that, at the SPS [Socialist Party of Serbia] congress on 2 March 1996, Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Republic of Serbia, was elected president of the SPS and that he "made a speech and received foreign party delegations in that capacity." Considering that the Constitution explicitly prohibits the president of the republic performing other public functions, it is clear that, with these very acts of election, delivering the speech, and receiving foreign party delegations, he has violated the Constitution. The assembly must acknowledge the violation of the Constitution and initiate a procedure to recall Slobodan Milosevic from the post of the president of the Republic of Serbia, the initiative of the DS deputy caucus stresses.

Serbia: SK-PJ Leader Wants 'Separatist' Parties Banned

AU2603090696 Belgrade NASA BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 20 Mar 96 p 9

[Article by N.T.: "Separatist Parties in Serbia Have To Be Banned"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Criticizing the Alliance of Vojvodina Hungarians [SVM], Goran Latinovic, president of the League of Communists—Movement for Yugoslavia [SK-PJ] republican committee, at yesterday's news conference called on the authorities to ban separatist parties.

The Serbian Government should establish a legal basis for preventing the activities of parties and movements whose programs are based on pure separatism, Latinovic said, and accused the SVM of conducting a separatist policy which is obvious from "its support for the Manifest of the Vojvodina Club according to which Vojvodina should be granted special status in some sort of confederacy on the territory of the present Yugoslavia."

Latinovic did not go into detailed explanations, but he mentioned that the situation was just as bad in Kosovo. "There too, separatist tensions have been given a new impetus, all in the hope of destabilizing Serbia."

Latinovic moreover accused current U.S. policy of fascism. The new world order, which is how he described the United States' international presence, "can be likened to the fascism practiced in Hitler's Germany." Latinovic also believes that the international community's and the United States' treatment of the Bosnian Serbs is discriminatory ("cynical").

"The new world order" can be stopped by a change in international relations, which Latinovic hopes will happen if Zyuganov and the communists win the elections in Russia. Latinovic moreover hailed the PRC's "principled and firm" resistance (in the case of Taiwan) to U.S. expansion.

Serbia: Albright's Behavior in Slavonia Criticized

AU2503192496 Belgrade POLITIKA EKSPRES in Serbo-Croatian 23 Mar 96 p 2

[Commentary by M. Jankovic: "Superficial Ambassador"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The several stones and eggs "fired" at Madeleine Albright and her aides in Vukovar the day before yesterday have confirmed once again that bitterness and dissatisfaction are still smoldering among the Serb population in the Srijem-Baranja region, especially regarding to the U.S. ambassador to the United Nations. Regardless of the fact that the move by a dozen or so residents of Vukovar was a condemnable act, one should say that, this time, it was the guest from the United States that "contributed" to the incident with her already proverbial, unobjective, and partial approach to Serb-Croat relations in the former Yugoslavia.

This time, Ms. Albright tried to transfer her "one-sided" diplomacy from political rostrums and newspaper columns to real life, and to do so just as she was visiting Serbs in the Srijem-Baranja region. The incident with which this visit ended was only a predictable explosion (fortunately with no consequences) of the bitterness of the Serbs from Vukovar and Ilok.

First of all, it is incomprehensible why Albright has, one could say, approached a delicate issue such as the relations between the two parties that were engaged in an armed conflict until recently so superficially. This superficiality had come to prominence even before the visit started, when the ambassador insisted that a news conference be held in the library of the Catholic church in Ilok, even though her hosts had a different plan. It is strange, but it appears that Albright had not learned the lesson of diplomacy that, anywhere in the world, it is the host that decides on the protocol of the guests' movements.

Moreover, the controversial visit to the Vukovar market prior to the incident had not been planned at all by the hosts, nor had the (unsuccessful) attempt by Madeleine Albright to talk to the residents who gathered there.

The U.S. ambassador tried to soften her arrogant attitude toward her hosts somewhat with the "assessment" that the Serb leadership did not share the view of their people and that the leadership was prepared to negotiate. In that way, she probably wanted to marginalize the majority's dissatisfaction with her.

Finally, the pinnacle of Madeleine Albright's willfulness was expressed during her address in the Catholic church in Ilok, when she expressed much love and understanding for the misfortunes of the local Croats. At the end, she told them: "It is important that you should know that, far away, in New York, you have friends who will help you."

And who will help the unfortunate Serbs from western Slavonia, the Knin Krajina who were killed by or had to flee from the Croatian army?

Montenegro

Montenegro: Official on Rumors About New FRY Constitution

AU2503135796 Podgorica MONITOR in Serbo-Croatian 28 Mar 96 pp 19-20

[Interview with Dr. Blagota Mitric, chairman of the Constitutional Court of Montenegro, by Darko Sukovic; place and date not given: "How Can Montenegro Leave the FRY in a Legal Way?"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Sukovic] Recently Dr. Vladan Kutlesic, a Serbian expert on constitutional law, stated that Montenegro had no realistic constitutional possibility of leaving the FRY in a legal manner. What is your comment on that?

[Mitric] If my colleague Kutlesic really said that, then I can only remind him of the provisions of the Montenegrin Constitution, namely Article 2, Section 4, which reads: "On any change of state status, form of government, or change of borders, decisions cannot be made without having previously conducted a referendum among the citizens." This, of course, refers to the citizens of Montenegro, and Article 3 of the Constitution of Montenegro, which reads: "Any government that does not reflect the citizens' free will cannot be established or recognized." I think that any further comment on this matter is unnecessary.

[Sukovic] Any interview with the chairman of the Constitutional Court at this moment would not be complete without a question as to whether you had any information on a new constitution of the FRY being worked out secretly somewhere?

[Mitric] I have been informed on this only through the media. I have read information that the new constitution has already been written, as well as denials by officials. I do not know whether the constitution has been written or not. But to me any statement by a politician is quite indicative of an event. For example, recently our prime minister said, in an interview on Finnish television, that there was no need to work out a new constitution, for the current one had not been used satisfactorily enough. I draw a conclusion from this that something did happen, but what, I really do not know.

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